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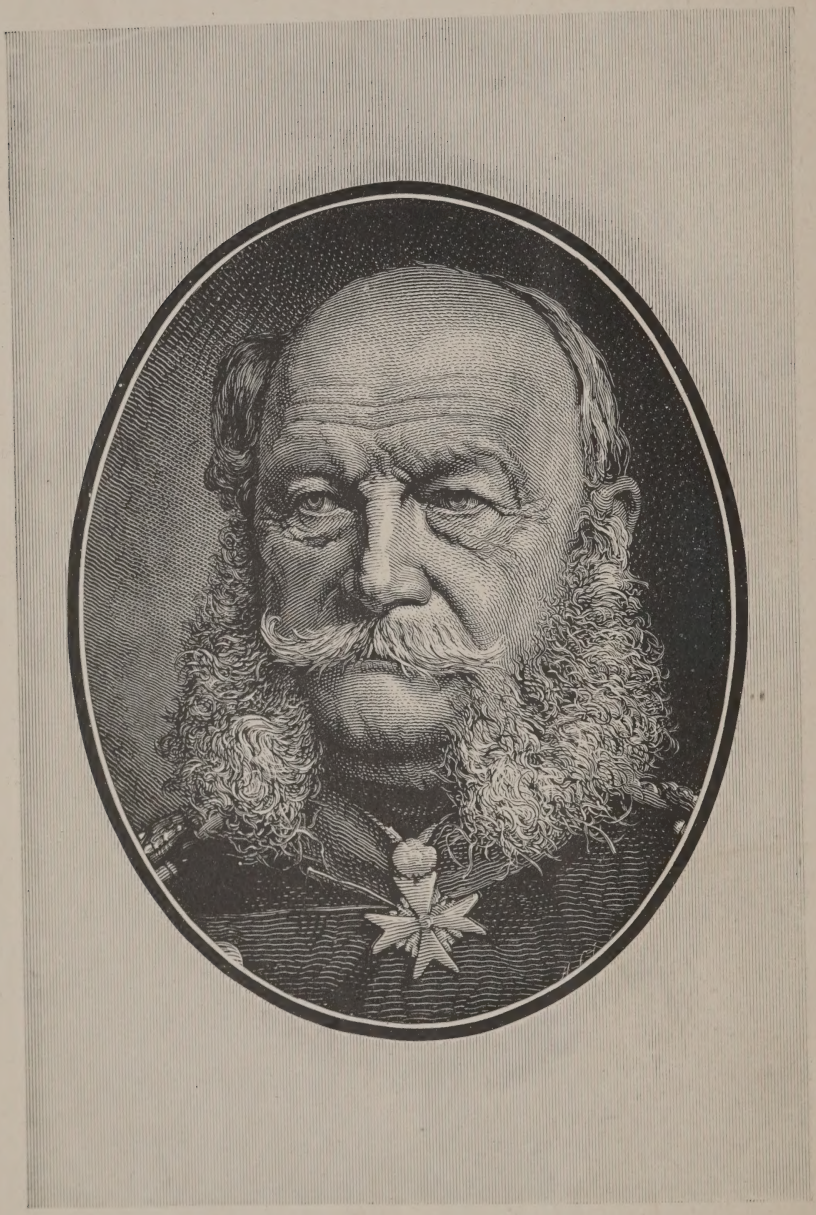

WILLIAM I.,

Emperor of Germany.

THE

THREE GERMANYS

GLIMPSES INTO THEIR HISTORY

BY

THEODORE S. FAY

'Noctes atque dies patet atri janua ditis."

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CHAPTER XV.

NAPOLEON AND EUROPE.

NAPOLEON AT THE HEIGHT OF HIS POWER—JENA—TREATY OF TILSIT—FREDERIC WILLIAM III. AT THE LOWEST POINT OF HUMILIATION.

THE fall of the Empire was the end of the First Germany. We now enter upon a France with, and a Germany without, an Emperor. The tribes, or States, which Charlemagne had bound together had separated again. A large portion gravitated into France, glad to be released from the yoke of the German Emperor, and rejoicing in the freedom which German princes had sought for centuries. They soon found their condition was not improved. Napoleon, by a number of brutal acts, immediately began to show that with him princes and people were equally slaves. It must not be forgotten that these princes had little power to resist. The Elector of Würtemberg,* for his support of Napoleon, received the title of king in 1806, and joined the Confederation. He governed arbitrarily. At a personal interview with Napoleon, he complained that the estates of his kingdom were an obstacle in his way. "*Chassez-les!*" (kick them out), said Napoleon; applying an expression too indecent to be repeated.

* The reader will remember there had been originally seven Electors; an eighth had been arbitrarily created by Ferdinand II. After the battle of Marengo, the Electoral College was remodeled; several Electors were deposed by Napoleon, and Baden, Hesse-Cassel, and Würtemberg raised to Electorates.

An anonymous pamphlet appeared in Bavaria, entitled "*Germany, in her deep humiliation.*" It contained remarks upon the hesitation of Prussia to join the Austrian coalition, and declared that Napoleon had contemptuously said: "The two hundred thousand Prussian soldiers are so many birds. I will take one hundred thousand prisoners, and the other one hundred thousand will fly away." The author of the pamphlet was unknown. Napoleon caused the publisher, Palm, a young man in Nuremberg, to be seized, dragged to Braunau, a frontier town of Upper Austria, at that time occupied by French troops, and placed before a French military court. Palm refused to give the name of the author and was instantly shot (August 25, 1806). The brightest blaze of glory could not hide this blood-spot on the hand of Napoleon. Several other publishers were arrested, and condemned to greater or less ignominious punishment.

Murder of Palm.

Napoleon and Frederic William of Prussia after Austerlitz.

Napoleon had humbled Austria, the Pope, and the Holy Roman Empire; he now turned his attention to Prussia.

Three men in the Prussian king's cabinet—Haugwitz, Lombard, Luchesini—at this time advocated peace at any cost. Before the Confederation of the Rhine, Frederic William had proposed a closer union between Saxony and Hesse-Cassel. Here was no trick and no concealment. The union was necessary for their common security. Napoleon had been frankly consulted and acquiesced with apparent cordiality, although he was secretly engaged in founding the Confederation of the Rhine, and in drawing Saxony into it for himself. He suggested to Frederic William, instead of a North German Confederation, a Prussian Confedera-

Haugwitz, Lombard, Luchesini.

tion. He even held up the idea of a German Empire under Prussia.

Incorporation of Prussian territory.

Murat's Duchy of Berg was some time afterward considerably enlarged by portions of Prussian territory, as if Prussia had sunk beneath consideration.

Napoleon offers Hanover to England.

Again: The Treaty of Schönbrunn forced from Frederic William, after the battle of Austerlitz, by which Prussia had ceded so much territory to Napoleon (Neufchâtel and Anspach), had given Hanover to Prussia. The great British minister, Pitt, who represented the English war party, died January 20, 1806. Fox, his successor, personally knew Napoleon, and, charmed by him into a friendship, advocated peace with France, and a nearer union with her Emperor. This would have been a most desirable change in Napoleon's affairs, and he used every effort to conclude an alliance. He did not provoke the war with England. Mr. Fox died soon after (September 13, 1806); and printed portions of the diplomatic correspondence of the two governments were laid before the British Parliament. In his correspondence with Fox, Napoleon, notwithstanding the Treaty of Schönbrunn, declared himself ready to redeliver Hanover to England.

War party in Prussia.

These insults sufficiently indicated the intention of Napoleon. The Prussian nation took fire. Queen Louise publicly appeared in the uniform of the regiment which bore her name. Prince Louis Ferdinand loudly advocated immediate war. Tumults broke out in Berlin and elsewhere; volleys of stones smashed the windows of Haugwitz and other leaders of the peace party. Prussian officers whetted their swords upon the stone steps of the French minis-

ter's palace in Berlin. Frederic William still hesitated. True, Prussia was insulted, robbed, despised, but he knew she could not then defend herself. He knew the real state of his army, and that a declaration of war was exactly what Napoleon wanted. Several pamphlets appeared, painting the abuses and defects of the Prussian military system, and her utter inability to oppose Napoleon. But woe to the honest man who, in times of public excitement, thinks the people will acknowledge that two and two make four. The authors of these pamphlets were ridiculed, insulted, and persecuted.

State of the Prussian army.

The Prussian army amounted to one hundred and eighty thousand men; among them, many Saxons, Saxony not having yet joined the Confederation of the Rhine. It consisted, partly, of hired recruits, who deserted whenever they got a chance. The troops were badly provided, and not accustomed to discipline. A re-organization had been attempted, but not yet accomplished. The immorality which had disgraced Frederic William II. and his court, was still visible among the officers, and had not been diminished by the example of the Duke of Brunswick himself. There was no confidence between officers and privates. Corporal punishment existed, and was often unjustly inflicted. The common soldier had scarcely any chance of promotion. There was little love between privates and officers, and still less between officers and burghers. Where officers, quartered upon citizens, basely profit by the opportunity to carry their immorality into private families, they must expect to be hated, if not chastised. While the common soldier wanted bread, the movements of the army were encumbered by immense baggage-wagons, carrying luxuries for the officers. Both

officers and soldiers had gradually lost confidence in the duke. We have referred to the position of a commander who, by an erroneous order of his sovereign, is forced into a battle which he knows must be a defeat. We ought, also, to think upon the discouragement of an under officer, or a common soldier, led into battle by a commander, in whose skill he has no faith. His honor and his life require absolute obedience to orders which he knows to be wrong, and he rushes to a charge with the conviction that he is fighting, not only for his own ruin, but the ruin of his country. Such were the reflections of many in the army of the Duke of Brunswick, before the double battle of Jena and Auerstädt.

It was written, however, that there should be war. The news that Napoleon had offered Hanover to England reached Prussia at about the same time with the information, that while he was pretending to assist Prussia in erecting the North Prussian League, he had been secretly undermining that league. The pressure of public opinion now became too great to permit longer hesitation. Prussia entered into negotiations with Russia, England, and Sweden. The army was placed upon a war footing under the Duke of Brunswick, the same who had conducted the unfortunate campaign of 1792, then seventy-one years of age.

Duke of Brunswick, 1806.

On the first of October, 1806, Frederic William sent an ultimatum to Napoleon, demanding that the portions of Prussian territory incorporated into the Duchy of Berg should be restored to him, and that the French troops should be withdrawn from Germany. The conqueror of Austerlitz received this communication with astonishment. The

Prussia declares war, September, 1806.

Paris *Moniteur* immediately published several scurrilous articles, personally and infamously insulting both Frederic William and Queen Louisa. The insult to the queen was repeated in a subsequent bulletin, showing how low Napoleon had fallen as a gentleman. The Prussian people never forgot, and never forgave, this particular insult to Queen Louisa. It whetted the sword and steadied the aim of the Prussian soldier in many a battle, and Blücher paid it back upon the French troops with dreadful interest, at Leipsic and Waterloo. A negative answer to the ultimatum was sent to Berlin, but before it reached the Prussian court, Napoleon, at the head of his legions, appeared in Central Germany.

Battle of Jena and Auerstädt, Oct. 14, 1806.

The Duke of Brunswick, with his army, advanced to meet him. Now took place the double battle of Jena and Auerstädt, which, for a period, seemed to annihilate the military power of Prussia. In this battle, Napoleon was at the head of an immense force and surrounded by his ablest generals. Every common soldier reposed perfect confidence in his officers, and knew that he himself, by good conduct and valor, might become a field-marshal, a duke, perhaps a king. Prince Louis Ferdinand, one of the principal commanders under the duke, was killed at the commencement of the battle. Queen Louisa had accompanied the army, and had several times publicly appeared in the uniform of her regiment amid the acclamations of the troops. Blücher, then sixty-four years of age, fought with desperate courage; the Duke of Brunswick, once on the battle-field, might have done something to save the honor of Prussia, for he was a brave and able soldier, but a bullet struck him in the head and destroyed both his eyes. He was carried away blind and senseless. The

Prussians were routed; Frederic William and the queen escaped with difficulty. Four Prussian generals-in-chief had been killed or disabled. The French regarded Jena as a reply to Rossbach. Napoleon thought he had now knocked the Prussian monarchy to pieces, as completely as he had destroyed the Holy Roman Empire.

He entered Berlin in triumph, and made it his head-quarters for more than a month. He demanded two and a half million thalers from the city, which he robbed besides of many important treasures of art, various paintings, the sword of Frederic the Great, and the bronze car of Victory (now returned to its place on the Brandenburg gate). Hanover had to pay nine millions; Saxony, which had fought on the side of Prussia, eight millions. During his stay in Berlin, Napoleon resided at the large Berlin Schloss. The spacious adjoining square, called the Lust-garten, was generally thronged with immense crowds, eagerly pressing to get a glimpse of the King of Fire and the hero of Austerlitz, and when the destroyer of their country occasionally appeared at the window, the air was rent with acclamations of delight.

Napoleon's public entry into Berlin, October 28, 1806.

While in Berlin, Napoleon issued his celebrated decree, November 20, 1806. By that decree, he declared the islands of Great Britain in a state of blockade, forbade all countries of the world to hold correspondence with her, even by letter. Every article of English manufacture, or produce, was contraband, and all property of British subjects lawful prize of war; every Englishman upon the Continent to be arrested and held as prisoner; and every ship to be confiscated which had been in an English port. In order to carry out the system, the Netherlands (Belgium and

Napoleon's Continental System, 1806.

Holland) and all the North Sea coast were afterward annexed to France. The North Sea coast was divided into three departments: the Elbe, the Weser, and the Ems.

In reply to the Berlin Decree, Great Britain issued a similar decree against France, called British Orders in Council; declaring all coasts of France and of countries in alliance with France, in a state of blockade, and prohibiting all countries of the world from trade or correspondence with them.

Napoleon subsequently received the British Orders in Council while in Milan, and immediately retaliated by what is called the Milan Decree, declaring all neutral ships which obeyed the Orders in Council liable to be confiscated. The Berlin and Milan decrees were subsequently made more stringent by two other decrees: persons found smuggling, or secretly possessing English articles, were punished with merciless barbarity.

Napoleon thus aspired to command and to punish the entire world. This was a fine prospect for neutral countries. The just-opening commerce of the United States was nearly destroyed. Many American ships were seized both by France and England. The consequence finally was, we anticipate to say, a war between the United States and England, 1812–1815. The United States, in this war, maintained the principle: Free ships, free goods. This principle was adopted as a part of the law of nations in the Paris Treaty of Peace, 1856, between France, England, Sardinia, and Turkey on one side, and Russia on the other. A claim was subsequently made by the United States (President Jackson) against the French government (Louis Philippe) of twenty-five million francs, as an indemnification for injuries inflicted by Napoleon upon American commerce. The claim was allowed.

The Continental System not only struck a heavy blow at England, but weighed ruinously upon other countries. Denmark, Russia, even Austria, were compelled to adopt it. Nearly all the ports of Europe were closed against British vessels. Portugal refused, and ordered her fleet to Brazil, out of Napoleon's reach. The imperious dictator sent an army under Junot, and occupied Lisbon. The prince-regent, the queen, and the court fled, and Napoleon declared the House of Braganza had ceased to reign.

With all his power, he could not carry his system through. It demoralized the country and weakened the government. It engendered a gigantic system of smuggling, successfully carried on by the common consent of all parties, except Napoleon himself. Even he, when in want of money, sometimes sold temporary licenses to break through it. It was the interest of almost every person in Europe to disobey it. Finally, it was one of the causes of Napoleon's downfall. Sweden could not live without commerce, and opened her ports in defiance of it; and Alexander, not accustomed to a yoke, scarcely made any attempt to oppose the introduction of the prohibited English merchandise. This enraged Napoleon, and aided in bringing on the Russian War at a subsequent period. We have here anticipated.

Some events during Napoleon's residence in Berlin.

Napoleon was unable to remain long in the Prussian metropolis. He was obliged to rejoin the army which he had sent to conquer the eastern part of Prussia,—namely, the provinces of East and West Prussia and Silesia. Before he left Berlin, the Duke of Brunswick, quite blind from his dangerous wound, addressed to him a communication, begging that he might be left undisturbed in possession of his duchy.

Treatment of the Duke of Brunswick.

Napoleon replied with brutality; he recognized no Duchy of Brunswick and no Duke of Brunswick. The unfortunate old man retired to Altona, and there died. His son devoted his life to revenge. In the subsequent war of Austria against France (1809), the young duke raised a company of cavalry, and entered into the service of Austria. The uniform was black, and upon the black cap was a white death-head. This company was called "The Black Legion of Vengeance." It distinguished itself by the most intrepid deeds, and gave no quarter. It was driven out by the French, and obliged to fly to England. The duke himself fought and fell at Waterloo, or rather at Quatre-Bras, June 16, 1815.

Prince von Hatzfeld, Oct., 1806.

The Prince von Hatzfeld, Prussian commandant of the City of Berlin, wrote a letter to the Prince of Hohenlohe, in which he stated the number of French troops which Napoleon had brought into Berlin. The letter was intercepted. Napoleon ordered the prince to be instantly arrested, placed before a military court, and shot. In an agony of despair, and by the benevolent contrivance of some of Napoleon's generals, the princess obtained an audience of Napoleon, threw herself at his feet, and denied the charge against her husband. She said there is no proof. The Emperor handed her the letter. "Is that his hand-writing?" She could not deny. "Throw it into the fire! There will be then no proof against him." The prince was released. This is called a grand act, and Napoleon boasted of it in one of his bulletins. It was not a grand act. The act of Palm, who suffered himself to be shot rather than give up his author's name, was a grand act. The arrest of the prince was a contemptible act of brute force, thoroughly mean and disgraceful in a conqueror

occupying the metropolis of his enemy. The letter of Prince Hatzfeld contained nothing treasonable, or which could have drawn a sentence of death from any court-martial, not of brigands. Even the murderer of the Duke d'Enghien did not dare to execute such a sentence of death.

Anecdote of Queen Louisa.

During the month of Napoleon's residence in the Berlin Schloss, he held several levees, attended by a number of Prussians. One day, an old Prussian pastor appeared in the circle, with whom Napoleon conversed several minutes. The conversation turning upon Queen Louisa, the Emperor spoke of her with his usual disrespect as a low *intriguante*, who did not deserve the esteem of her country. The old pastor replied in a clear, firm voice, heard by every person in the room: "Your Majesty does not speak the truth. Queen Louisa is a pure, noble, virtuous woman, the pride of her family and country, justly beloved and esteemed by all her subjects, incapable of any thing low or wrong."

A deep silence followed. Napoleon stood a moment in surprise, and, after a few commonplace words addressed to the next person in the circle, left the hall. The company looked upon the bold speaker as one who might soon share the fate of d'Enghien or Palm. The sudden appearance of a high officer of Napoleon's household caused again a silence, broken by the voice of the officer: "His Majesty, the Emperor, invites M. le pasteur to dine with him to-day."

From Königsberg, whither, as we have seen, the king and Queen Louisa fled after the battle of Jena, Frederic William communicated to Napoleon his readiness to make the greatest sacrifices for peace. Weber declares, he even

offered to become a member of the Rhenish Confederation. If it be so, it is indeed a striking proof of the king's despair. It is not easy to understand Napoleon at this time. He showed not a gleam of humanity. He refused even an armistice. His exorbitant demands increased with the helplessness of the enemy. He trampled on his prey. He tore it to pieces. He even repeated, in his public army bulletins, his slander against Queen Louisa. He drove the war forward with unrelenting vindictiveness. He might have made peace on any terms, and thus spared immense bloodshed. Thousands of his own soldiers perished in this period. These considerations were beneath notice. Perhaps he thought, by the utter annihilation of Prussia, he could either more easily overcome Alexander as an enemy, or win him as an ally.

Continuation of the war till Treaty of Tilsit, October 14, 1806—July 9, 1807.

Many heavy reverses fell upon Prussia immediately after the battle of Jena, showing why Frederic William had held back from the coalitions, and in what a wretched state was the Prussian army. The battle had taken place on the 14th. On the 16th, Erfurt capitulated with ten thousand men and an abundance of provisions; on the 25th, the great fortress of Spandau, with Potsdam and Berlin; on the 28th, Prince Hohenlohe with nine thousand men; the strong fortress of Stettin followed; then the fortress of Kustrin; then Magdeburg, the bulwark of Prussia—nineteen generals, twenty-four thousand men, seven thousand horses, a number of cannon, amply supplied with munitions and provisions. Hanover surrendered, followed by Glogau, Breslau, Brieg, Schweidnitz, and Neisse (including the old duchies wrested from Maria Theresa by Frederic the Great). The Poles broke free

Reverses of Prussia after the Battle of Jena.

from Prussia and set up for themselves. Some of these capitulations were so shameful that the commanders, by all the rules of war, ought to have been shot. Among other misfortunes, was the abandonment of the Prussian cause by Frederic Augustus the Just, Elector of Saxony. In personal intercourse, Napoleon had an almost irresistible power to fascinate. Some one said that if he could pass one hour with the Prince-regent of England, he would persuade him to join the Continental System. After the battle of Jena, Napoleon took the trouble to be very charming to Frederic Augustus. Instead of revenge for having fought against him, he surprised his enemy by magnanimity. He released the Saxon war-prisoners, made a favorable peace with the Elector, and offered to raise him to the rank of king if he would join the Rhenish Confederation. Frederic Augustus acceded. The consequence was a sincere friendship and a faithful alliance, terminated only by the battle of Leipsic.

Fortresses defended.

The name of Napoleon had not paralyzed all Prussian commanders. The resolute Major Gneisenau, assisted by the lieutenant of dragoons, Von Schill, one of the most daring and romantic characters of Prussian history, and by the noble old sailor, Nettelbeck, successfully defended the fortress of *Colberg* (Pomerania) against a far superior besieging force of the French, till the Treaty of Tilsit relieved it from the disgrace of a surrender. Nettelbeck was seventy years old. He had, at the age of fifteen (Frederic the Great, Seven Years' War), bravely assisted in the defense of this same fortress of Colberg against the Russians, 1761. The fortress of *Graudenz* (West Prussia, on the Vistula), under the intrepid old General Courbière, also held out till the peace.

Blücher at Lübeck, Nov. 7.

After the battle of Jena, Blücher collected all he could of the shattered fragments of the Prussian army, took his stand in Lübeck, where, after a heroic defense which filled Napoleon's breast with a rage never to be quenched, he held out till the failure of ammunition and provisions obliged him to surrender.

Battle of Eylau, Feb. 8, 1807.

Napoleon's departure from Berlin was hastened by the discovery that the military power of Prussia was not by any means destroyed. It required a far greater effort to maintain the victory of Jena than it had required to gain it. Bernadotte was beaten near Königsberg, and the old Prussian General Lestocq, an old "Haudegen," of the Ziethen and Blücher school, had not the least idea of surrendering. The Russians, at last, came to the aid of Prussia. The Russian General Benningsen with a considerable force, and the Prussians under Lestocq, met Napoleon at Eylau. The battle (to save Königsberg) was one of the bloodiest. A sudden change of temperature had locked every thing in ice. The heaviest artillery could move over marshes, streams, and rivers. An uninterrupted storm wrapped every thing in snow. The Prussians forced a division of the French, under Davoust, to retreat. Angereau strove in vain to advance. Napoleon, commanding the center, had the greatest difficulty to maintain himself, and narrowly escaped being made prisoner. The scales inclined in favor of the Russians and Prussians, but the winter night terminated the battle. Both armies claimed the victory. Sixty thousand dead and wounded. Broad stains of crimson, far and wide, were visible in the snow. Both armies were too much exhausted to renew the struggle. Prussia here stood at

bay. It was the first signal of Napoleon's downfall—a foreshadowing of his destruction. On the fields of Smolensk, beneath the walls of Moscow, on the banks of the Beresina, he must have sometimes regretted that he had not better understood the hint he had received in the snow at Eylau. Indeed, the battle made so deep an impression upon him that he wrote a flattering letter to Frederic William offering favorable conditions, which, depending upon Alexander, Frederic William rejected. Although he had kept back from the European coalition from a just-grounded fear, he thought at least he might trust his friend Alexander, who at last, with his forces, appeared on the field.

Fall of Danzig, May, 1807.

After Eylau, Napoleon attacked and took the important fortress of Danzig. It was bravely defended by Kalkreuth, till want of munitions compelled a surrender.

Battle of Friedland, June 14, 1807.

Four months after the battle of Eylau, the contending parties were again ready for a battle. Napolean had found it necessary to bring one hundred and sixty thousand men. The allies had only one hundred and twenty thousand. They met their enemy at Friedland, and were defeated. The French entered Königsberg, and were now in possession of all Prussia. Frederic William and Queen Louisa fled to Memel, the extremist north-eastern point of their kingdom, on the Russian frontier. Alexander had ample means to carry on the war, but he had begun to be tired of it. Other ideas had entered his mind.

Napoleon and Alexander on a raft.

A Russian-French alliance had suggested itself. What, indeed, could not Alexander and Napoleon do united? Napoleon could afford great concessions. Alexander might by sacrifices,

however reluctant, vastly increase his power, and raise Russia among the nations.

The two emperors met in a tent, arranged upon a raft, half-way across the River Niemen, or Memel, and talked the matter over. The river had been declared neutral, so that neither was upon the territory of the other. The tent contained a saloon, in which the two emperors met. After a friendly embrace, the first words of Alexander were: "*I hate the English as sincerely as you do.*" The reply of Napoleon was: "*Then the peace is as good as concluded.*" Alexander, who, not quite two years before, had made a secret treaty with Frederic William and given a solemn pledge over the sarcophagus of Frederic the Great, never to rest till Napoleon should be driven out of Germany, now embraced Napoleon, the destroyer of Prussia, and concluded a treaty which seemed to set the seal upon the tomb of Prussia, and made her great enemy the master of Germany.

Treaty of Tilsit, July 7, 1807.

The Treaty of Tilsit consisted of two parts: That between France and Russia, and that between France and Prussia.

Russia, in her treaty, recognized the Duchy of Warsaw, under the King of Saxony; Bialystock, a part of the Prussian territory, was ceded to Russia (Russia today still remains in possession of this territory). Russia recognized Joseph, Louis, and Jérome Bonaparte as kings of Naples, Holland, and the new Kingdom of Westphalia, the latter to be formed out of the western part of the Kingdom of Prussia, with Cassel as its capital; she recognized the Confederation of the Rhine. In a secret article, Alexander agreed to an alliance with France against England, in case the war should continue between these two countries.

Prussia, in her treaty, ceded to Napoleon all her territory between the Rhine and the Elbe; all the land taken from Poland since 1772, to form the Duchy of Warsaw, also Danzig; recognized the three brothers of Napoleon as kings; joined the Continental System; stipulated to entertain an army no greater than forty thousand men; agreed that the French should retain all the Prussian provinces and fortresses until full payment of the war indemnity, which was fixed at one hundred and forty million francs. Until payment of this sum, Prussia, thus mutilated and exhausted, should maintain upon her territory, and at her cost, one hundred and fifty thousand French troops. The military roads between Magdeburg, Danzig, Dresden, and Warsaw were to remain open for the French.

Napoleon declared that but for the respect he entertained for the Emperor Alexander, he would have deposed Frederic William altogether.

Remarks on the Treaty of Tilsit.

Remark, the parties upon whom Frederic William had depended in this war were Russia, Saxony, and Sweden. What did these powers do for him? Sweden did nothing; Saxony fought one battle, then went over, hand and heart, to the enemy, and was compensated by a part of Prussian territory. How did Alexander respond? Four months after the battle of Jena, his promised army had got as far as the Eastern provinces of Prussia. The united Russian and Prussian army then exhibited an unexpected strength. The battle of Eylau had astonished Napoleon. It was the greatest battle yet fought against him. It showed there was stuff enough in Russia and Prussia to dictate an honorable peace. Bennigsen had counseled Alexander to continue the war; had shown the

possibility of leading Napoleon forward into the wide, frozen fields of Russia, where, amid the desolation of a northern winter, he might be defeated, or where, at least, Prussia could have made better terms. Alexander was personally attached to Frederic William; nevertheless, he made the shameful Peace of Tilsit, and even took a portion of the Prussian territory. It is not easy to see what Alexander gained by the treaty. Certainly, nothing to counterbalance the disadvantage and dishonor. True, Russia had not yet been attacked. She was not fighting in her own quarrel. A rising in Russian Poland was feared. Alexander, fascinated and duped by Napoleon, forgot that he had drawn Frederic William into the war by the promise to support him. Without even consulting the Prussian king, he agreed upon an armistice with Napoleon, which the latter, alarmed at the attitude of Austria, was glad to conclude. Last but not least, Alexander was secretly bribed by the assurance that he would be allowed to annex Finland and the Danubian principalities; in short, to do in Turkey just what he pleased. As if the treaty itself were not disgraceful enough, Frederic William, after its conclusion, was called to meet his two friends on the raft, where Napoleon insulted him in the presence of Alexander. Still more; the noble Queen Louisa was persuaded that she might serve her country by condescending to a personal interview with its oppressor. She, accordingly, came from Memel to Tilsit, and had an audience. The hope of advantage was not realized; but she had, at least, an opportunity to see that a man may be a great conqueror without being a gentleman. Is it to be wondered at that Frederic William thought twice before he joined a coalition?

After the Treaty of Tilsit, Napoleon invited Alexander

to a personal conference, in order to consolidate their alliance. The two emperors met at Erfurt, which from 1806–1813 was French territory. This meeting was called the Congress of Erfurt, and lasted from September 27 to October 14 (eighteen days). Here Napoleon held a court, attended by his vassal sovereigns and princes. Whatever Alexander may have thought of himself, he certainly appeared, for a time, among their number. In addition to Alexander, were four kings, twenty-seven princes, two grand dukes, seven dukes, with their families, waiting upon Napoleon's word, and with them counts, marshals, generals, barons, statesmen, poets; distinguished artists without number. The most splendid *fêtes* revealed Napoleon in a cloud of glory. The French theater had been brought from Paris. Talma had been the companion of Napoleon in his early days, and the obscure and penniless lieutenant preserved this friendship in the height of his grandeur. Napoleon now sent for and cordially welcomed his ancient comrade, and, patting the great tragedian upon the shoulder, said: "*Mon cher, je vous ferai jouer devant un parterre de rois.*" ("My dear fellow, I will make you play before an audience of kings.")

Napoleon and Alexander at Erfurt, September, 1808.

Prussia remained under the despotism of the French from 1806–1813, about seven years. Napoleon, from the beginning, made preparations to plunder the country; to reduce her to a margraviate; to place a French prince upon the throne, etc. Prussia was, in fact, partitioned almost as she had partitioned Poland. No doubt Frederic William often remembered the country of Kosciusko, and the iron hand of Suvaroff.

Prussia during the French rule, 1807-1813.

N.B.—Portions of this work were written before 1870.

In 1808, the Spaniards and Portuguese rose in insurrection against Napoleon.

European events during the seven years of Napoleon's rule in Prussia.

Austria also declared war against Napoleon, and the Czar promised to keep her down during the Spanish war. He even declared war against her. Francis hoped not only that Alexander would remain inactive, but that Prussia and all Germany would rise at his call, and force the French back over the Rhine. Napoleon, on learning these war preparations, left Spain. The Archduke Charles, commander-in-chief of the Austrian army, published several proclamations calling upon Germany and Europe to break the chains of a foreign despot; but there was no rising; Napoleon was yet too powerful. He advanced with a magnificent army to Vienna. Obliged to keep a force in Spain, he largely recruited his forces from the Confederation of the Rhine, thus arraying Germans against Germans. He notified the members of the Confederation that he required all their contingents. He dazzled them with splendid promises of new honors and new spoils. He would make Bavaria a more powerful country than Austria. He would raise the King of Westphalia to a height which no Hapsburg had ever attained. He ridiculed the declaration of war by Austria as criminal stupidity, and branded the proclamations of the Archduke Charles as low Jacobinism. He soon after left Paris in his carriage as a private person, and arrived at Salzburg, April 13. In this campaign, he was destined to acquire another wife, and he probably knew it; but, strange to say, he was accompanied as far as Frankfort by Josephine.

New war with Austria, 1809.

As he approached Vienna, the Imperial family fled to Hungary, leaving only one member,—namely, the

Archduchess Marie Louise, daughter of the Emperor. She was confined to her chamber by illness. The archduke intended to defend the city, but a few bombs thrown into it showed that resistance was useless. On being informed that Marie Louise, in consequence of illness, had been left in Vienna, Napoleon ordered that no bomb-shell should be directed toward that part of the town. On the 10th of April, 1809, the city capitulated, and Napoleon established his head-quarters at the beautiful château of Schönbrunn where he had resided in 1805 (battle of Austerlitz). Charles was gathering his army again for a new battle at the adjacent villages of Aspern and Essling.

Napoleon at Vienna, April 10, 1809.

As a child of the Revolution, Napoleon sought to spread the revolution wherever he went. He used the idea of nationalities as bomb-shells, hurling them into the camp of his enemies. The Poles were one of his great reserved torpedoes against Europe. Now he called upon the Hungarians to rise. By a proclamation, May 15, 1809, he urged them to declare their independence. The Hungarians remained faithful to the Emperor. They feared the Greeks even bearing gifts. Perhaps they had not forgotten their cry: "*Moriamur pro rege nostro Maria Theresa.*"

Napoleon's Proclamation to the Hungarians.

We pass rapidly the battles of this period. At Aspern, Napoleon for the first time was defeated. The Archduke Charles drove the French upon an island, Lobau, in the Danube, where for several days they had nothing to eat except their slaughtered horses, and no drink except the muddy water of the Danube, polluted, moreover, by dead bodies, many of

Battle of Aspern.

which had been thrown in still alive. After the battle along the shore, hundreds of wounded men and horses, burning with fever, exhausted with pain and loss of blood, had slowly dragged their mutilated bodies where they could slake their thirst. Seven thousand French were buried on the battle-field or flung into the river. Massena, Bessier, Lannes, etc., were among the wounded. "*Si j'avais été l'archeduke*," said Massena, "*pas un français n'aurait échappé pour porter la nouvelle du désastre.*" ("If I had been the archduke, not a single French soldier should have escaped to bear the news of the disaster.") "The great rat Napoleon," cried the Germans, "is caught at last in the great trap of Lobau." Napoleon returned to Schönbrunn and took measures to wipe out the shame. In his suite at the battle had been the Russian General Tschernicheff, adjutant of Alexander. Tschernicheff well marked the disaster, and no doubt made his report to the Czar.

Death of Lannes, May, 1809.

Lannes, both his legs shot off, had been carried to Vienna, where he expired in agony on the ninth day, aged forty. He seemed to think he could storm the battlements of the King of Terrors and cut his way victoriously through, as he had done at the bridge of Lodi. He commanded the surgeons to restore his shattered limbs, and denounced them as charlatans because they could not save a marshal of France. He called aloud for Napoleon, who came at the earliest moment, and showed deep feeling. Lannes clung to his beloved general's hand, and would not let him go. He seemed to think Napoleon could save him. Napoleon was his god. The Emperor's duties forced him to leave. Lannes died calling only on his name. Amid his ravings, however, he sometimes accused his chief: "*You are the*

cause of my death. You will sacrifice us all to your insatiable ambition!"

Battle of Wagram, July 5, 6, 1809.

At Wagram, Napoleon again met the Archduke Charles. The battle was a French victory, but not one of the old sort. Charles was not routed. He retreated voluntarily, leaving no cannon and no prisoners. He had fought the battle in such a way that, although he thought it prudent to retreat, Napoleon did not think it prudent to pursue. Was the tide turning at last?

Napoleon escapes assassination.

After Wagram, Napoleon (October 13, 1809) held a great parade at Schönbrunn. As he appeared on horseback, he was, as usual, the object of enthusiastic acclamations. On his return, he learned that his steps had been dogged by a murderer; but for the watchfulness of one of his generals (Rapp), he would have been assassinated. Rapp had perceived a man foremost in the crowd on the steps of the château whose movements and expression attracted his notice. He caused him to be arrested. A large dagger was found upon him. When asked what he had intended to do with it, he replied: "To slay the hateful tyrant who tramples on my country." He was instantly tried by a military court and condemned to death. After the sentence, Napoleon caused the prisoner to be brought before him. He was a young student named Stapps, seventeen years of age, calm and stern. Napoleon was struck. "What have I done against you?"—"Against me, nothing; but you are the destroyer of my country. I have failed, but others will succeed."—"What will you do if I pardon and release you?"—"Watch the first opportunity and strike my knife to your heart."—"Away with him," said Napoleon. He was led out and shot.

Peace of Vienna, October 14.

By the Treaty of Vienna, Austria ceded several portions of territory to Bavaria, Russia, and France, and joined the Continental System.

Pope Pius VII., 1800-1823.

During his residence in Schönbrunn, from May 21 to October 16, 1809, Napoleon had been as busy in the cabinet as in the field. His palace was continually thronged with generals, statesmen, couriers, etc. He here brought to an end his old quarrel with Pope Pius VII. Pius had refused obedience to the Continental System, which required him to expel every Russian, Sardinian, Swede, and Englishman from his dominions. Napoleon consequently seized Civita Vecchia, and all the ports on the Adriatic. Another demand was that the Pope should declare a divorce in the case of Jérome Bonaparte, who had married Miss Patterson without his brother's permission. This demand was also refused, upon which Napoleon incorporated the entire Papal territory into the French Empire, and stationed a body of French troops in the city of Rome. Pius now published a bull of excommunication against Napoleon, who, in reply, sent General Radet with a military force at two o'clock in the morning into the Quirinal palace, arrested the Pontiff, and conveyed him a prisoner to Grenoble. Napoleon suspected the Pope of having secretly supported his enemies in Spain, and issued a decree declaring the temporal sovereignty of the Pope at an end, incorporating Rome into the French Empire. At length the Pope was removed to the château of Fontainebleau, near Paris, where he remained a prisoner for three years, living almost wholly by the assistance of his friends. He was finally released on Napoleon's downfall. In his personal character, Pius VII. was disinterested, modest, and virt-

uous. In his dominions he abolished torture, and restrained the powers of the Inquisition. History can scarcely render him too much honor for his steady resistance to Napoleon.

Want of space compels us merely to mention the episode of Andreas Hofer, who, during this Austrian war, roused his countrymen of the Tyrol to an insurrection against Napoleon. Being defeated, he fled to the mountains, and was concealed by the peasants, in spite of the offer of large rewards. At length, one of Hofer's most trusted friends, a scoundrel named Raffl, for three hundred ducats betrayed the hiding-place. Hofer was arrested, January 27, 1810. A whole battalion of French troops seized him with brutal cruelty, beat him till he was bloody, tore his beard out by the roots, then, without protection against the intense cold, publicly and ostentatiously led him as a prisoner through the Tyrol. This was done to insult and browbeat the Tyrolese population, and teach them that, like the rest of Europe, they also had to kiss the dust beneath Napoleon's feet. Hofer was taken to Mantua and tried by a court-martial. His character and bearing impressed the court favorably, and although he had no doubt violated a stipulation entered into by Austria with Napoleon and Bavaria, they wished to acquit. An appeal for his life to Napoleon brought a short answer: "*Death within twenty-four hours.*" He died tranquilly, refused to have his eyes bound, and himself gave the word. The execution of Hofer was a threat to the European population. No resistance!

Andreas Hofer, February 20, 1810.

On the declaration of war by Austria against Napoleon (April, 1809), a young Prussian officer, Major von Schill, attempted to effect an insurrection in North Ger-

many. In order not to compromise his government and king, he marched his regiment out of Berlin, as if merely for military exercise, then advanced toward Magdeburg, making appeals to the people to rise and drive out the invader. Scarcely any one joined him. The terror was too great. Napoleon had just suppressed a similar insurrection in Hesse, and the King of Westphalia offered a large reward for Schill's head. At Stralsund, the numbers were increased to two thousand. Being pursued by troops of Holland and Westphalia (that is, of Louis and Jérome Bonaparte) six thousand strong, he intrenched himself, as well as he could, in Stralsund, determined to sell his life as dearly as possible. The enemy stormed the town. His two thousand men were nearly all cut down, and slain in the streets. Schill himself fought like a lion. After having slain, with his own hand, the Hollandish General Carteret, he fell dead, pierced with bullets. These attempted risings not only enraged, but alarmed, Napoleon. Twelve Russian officers were taken prisoners, fighting by the side of Schill. They were instantly shot. The private soldiers were sent to France, condemned to imprisonment, with hard labor, for six months in the Bagno, and then forced to serve in the lowest ranks of the French army. The enterprise of Schill was not so rash as it appears. Austria had just declared war against France, and called upon the Germans to rise. The Archduke Charles had issued a fiery proclamation, stating that the time had come to drive the French out of the country. They were as painfully surprised as Schill was at the inactivity of the people.

Schill killed, May 31, 1809.

Napoleon now repudiated Josephine, his faithful companion, and (April, 1810) married Marie Louise, daughter

of the Emperor Francis. As Pope Pius VII. had nobly refused to grant a divorce of Jérome Bonaparte from Miss Patterson, he would not, of course, grant one in the case of Josephine. So Napoleon managed the affair himself.

Repudiation of Josephine, and marriage with Marie Louise of Austria, 1810.

Napoleon had now reached the summit of his power, and Frederic William the lowest point of his degradation. In this dark moment, Frederic William manifested his true character. He did not carry poison with him, like Frederic the Great and Napoleon. He did not sink, he rose under humiliation; he remained calm and resolute, and his strong and well-balanced character manifested itself more clearly from this time. Notwithstanding the shameful conduct of many of his generals, and the incompetency and want of patriotism displayed by many of his ministers, like the Great Elector, he now began to confront the difficulties of his position, and to form a large plan of regeneration. His old advisers had lost courage and patriotism; they proposed an unconditional surrender into the hands of Napoleon. They even got up a sketch of a treaty of peace dictated by Talleyrand, and actually signed by Napoleon's own hand. The king rejected this. He dismissed his old ministers. Numerous officers, who had capitulated without a good cause, were cashiered. He ordered that all who hereafter should surrender unworthily, should be shot. This period, if not the happiest, was the most profitable, and perhaps the most noble of his life. Hope and courage awoke in the country. A Christian spirit of trust showed itself in all the provinces. Prussia bent her head under the mighty hand of God, and waited. The names of Gneisenau, Schill, Lestocq, Blücher, Courbière, began to be surrounded with a halo.

Frederic William in adversity.

It was the darkest hour of the Prussian night. The country waited long, and at last, the first beams of day-break appeared in the East.

Frederic William had in his character the same peculiarity which marked President Abraham Lincoln. His vacillation arose from a conscientious desire not to act unjustly, illegally, or prematurely. When satisfied on this point, and he felt himself treading on the ground of right and wisdom, he adopted a resolution which could not then be shaken. He called around him the greatest minds; Stein, Scharnhorst, Boyen, Hardenberg. These men thoroughly examined and proceeded energetically to remove the abuses which had weakened Prussia. While Napoleon was climbing higher and higher, Frederic William, in sorrow, by salutary reforms was silently laying the foundations of a real prosperity. What would Napoleon have said, when he dictated the Treaty of Tilsit, could he have foreseen the crash of Leipsic and Waterloo, St. Helena, the War of 1870, and the great sword of Napoleonism surrendered to that very young boy (afterward Emperor of Germany), then with his father and his mother, Queen Louisa, flying before the French troops?*

Prussia, indeed, required great reforms. The peasants had been, in some degree, slaves or serfs, holding their land on the old feudal conditions of service, or half the produce. Only nobles or privileged persons could acquire landed property. In 1807, on the advice of Stein, the famous edict appeared cutting away these restrictions altogether. Peasants who held perpetual leases, on con-

* A pretty anecdote is told of this period. When Frederic William was flying before Napoleon to Memel, one of the children (William I., Emperor of Germany and conqueror of Napoleon III.) wove some corn-flowers into a wreath, and presented it to his mamma. The queen placed it upon the boy's head. "There, my dear child! that, I fear, is all the crown you will ever wear."

dition of paying services, or half the produce, on giving up one third of the land became the unconditional proprietors of the other two thirds. This was justly regarded as an interference with individual rights, yet it could plead the same necessity as a surgical operation. If the operation were not performed, the patient must die. It was a step toward the creation of a free people. The peasants and tradesmen, released from slavish subordination to the land-holders, began to show new enterprise, industry, and love for their country. Many other vexatious, medieval oppressions were swept away; for instance, the right of persons traveling in the service of the king to demand horses without remuneration. Up to that date, before 1806, a Prussian nobleman, though by circumstances deprived of his fortune, could not gain his bread by commerce, or any ordinary branch of industry, without losing caste. An edict was published authorizing even a nobleman to follow the command of God: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread"; and to gain his livelihood by some less fashionable means than gambling or speculation. Many other important reforms were decreed. It was not the king's fault if all these reforms were not completely carried out. They met with obstinate and, in some cases, successful opposition. Nevertheless, enough were completely executed to inspire the people with a sense of their rights and a hope of liberty. On perceiving this work of regeneration, Napoleon issued from Madrid a decree, December 16, 1808: "*Le nommé Stein* (the person named Stein) is declared an outlaw, and his property confiscated." Stein saved himself from arrest, and one knows not what fate, by a rapid flight to Prague.

The army, as we have seen, was in a deplorable state.

Scharnhorst, a true patriot, undertook its reorganization. He swept away abuses with a fearless hand, abolished the military privileges of the nobles, put an end to the right of serving by proxy, and called every individual man of the nation into the army. An order was issued annulling the privilege of noble birth as a ground of military promotion. The private soldier, although born a peasant, might reach the highest rank in the army. These innovations were as selfishly and meanly opposed as the reforms introduced by Stein into the civil state. The opposition, in some cases, was here also successful. As the Treaty of Tilsit limited the army to forty thousand men, Scharnhorst recruited forty thousand the first year, thoroughly drilled them, dismissed them; recruited forty thousand the second year, and so on. In three years, he had an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, although not all in service. The manufacture of cannon and muskets was secretly carried on. Corporal punishment was abolished. The sentiment of honor and patriotism was aroused. Portraits of Blücher, Schill, and other heroes were to be found in every house and in every hut. Prussia could not pay the war contributions. The troops of Napoleon, therefore, continued to occupy the whole country, and to maintain themselves by their extortions. Arrogant French marshals, their chief residence Berlin, levied taxes, robbed everywhere and everybody, the banks, the church, the schools, even the saving banks in which were deposited the mites of widows and orphans. The total amount extorted during the seven years of the French rule is estimated at two hundred and forty-five million thalers.

Queen Louisa died of a broken heart, just as her country reached the lowest point of degradation. At that very

moment, although she knew it not, Napoleon had commenced to topple down from his height; and Prussia to ascend to that summit of power where she stands to-day. After the Treaty of Tilsit had been agreed upon, it was thought that an interview with the queen might induce Napoleon to withdraw some of his merciless conditions. He had a curiosity to see her, and had expressed the wish. She consented and, accompanied by a brilliant *cortège*, he paid her a visit. On reaching the door of her house, he dismounted from his splendid Arab, his little riding-whip in his hand, and, Talleyrand at his side, ascended the steps. The queen received him with that perfect tact and quiet grace peculiar to her, and expressed a regret that he was obliged to mount so humble a staircase. "With such an end in view," said he, "one is not deterred by any obstacles." She inquired, if "his health had not suffered from the northern winter"; and then frankly expressed what lay on her heart. She had dared, she said, to hope "for less hard terms of peace." "But," asked Napoleon, "how could you have the idea to begin a war with me?" "It was natural," she replied, "that the fame of our great Frederic should deceive us as to our strength; if, indeed, we have been deceived." He then asked whether he might hope for the honor of her presence at dinner. The interview lasted fifteen minutes. At the close, he appeared moved; but Talleyrand intervened. "Sire, shall posterity learn that your Majesty was persuaded by a handsome queen to relax your hold on one of your greatest conquests?" When, at the hour appointed for the dinner, the queen reached the residence of Napoleon, he received her at her carriage-door. At the table, she sat at Napoleon's right, Alexander at his left, and Fred-

Death of Queen Louisa, July 13, 1810.

eric William at the left of Alexander. During the conversation, Frederic William spoke of "the pain of abandoning old inherited provinces." Napoleon said: "Such losses must be accepted as inevitable consequences of the vicissitudes of war." The king replied: "Your Majesty may think lightly of such losses, because you have had no such provinces. They can be no more forgotten than the cradle in which we slept as children." "Ah, bah! cradle!" cried Napoleon, laughing contemptuously; "a baby may like his cradle; a man has no time to think of it." Before departing, the queen said, she "regretted to leave him without having seen, not only the all-conquering soldier, but the magnanimous hero." He broke a rose from a bush standing near the window, and presented it to her. She accepted it, remarking: "*With Magdeburg, at least, for my children's sake.*" He replied, harshly, "*No.*" And afterward said to Talleyrand: "Magdeburg is worth more to me than a hundred queens."

At St. Helena, where there was no wily Talleyrand to extinguish the first spark of generosity, he spoke as follows: "In spite of my skill and my greatest endeavors, in these interviews she always maintained the upper hand; yet with such grace and sweetness, that it was impossible to be displeased with her."

Before she died, she wrote the following, almost prophetic, lines to her father: "I hope my children will devote their lives to the deliverance of their country, and will finally deliver it." She also spoke to her two boys, Fritz and William: "The Prussian State, the Prussian army, the glory of Prussia have disappeared. Weep, in memory of me, the downfall of our Fatherland. But weeping is not enough. Act! Conquer back again from France the darkened glory of your great ancestors. Be men! Be heroes!"

CHAPTER XVI.

RISE OF GERMANY.

RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN—WAR OF LIBERATION—BATTLE OF LEIPSIC—NAPOLEON EMPEROR OF ELBA.

WE have followed Napoleon to the height of his power. In 1811, an immense comet appeared. The Europeans watched the great conqueror and the blazing visitant, as if in some way connected. They certainly resembled each other in the splendor of their presence, and in the rapidity of their disappearance.

Soon after the Treaty of Tilsit, the precarious nature of the union between Napoleon and Alexander began to appear. Notwithstanding his victories, Napoleon remained a *parvenu*, and, beneath the cordiality of the Czar, there was always condescension, sometimes not quite free from contempt. Before he had sought the hand of Marie Louise, Napoleon had proposed a marriage between himself and the sister of Alexander. This offer was declined. The Continental System began to be broken through. Alexander was not afraid of war, and showed it in several ways. Napoleon knew he had entered into friendly relations with the enemies of France. Another point. Napoleon had by no means forgotten how ostentatiously Russia had withheld the promised assistance in the Austrian campaign of 1809. It did not lie in his character to be satisfied with this state of things. He had con-

quered Austria, Prussia, Spain. A new treaty, like that of Tilsit, dictated at St. Petersburg or Moscow, over the ruins of Russia, would perfect his glory. He determined, therefore, to seize an advantage by anticipating his enemy. July 20, 1810, he opened the way by a declaration, announcing his determination to protect Turkey; a part of which, namely, the Danubian Principalities, he had promised to Alexander at Tilsit. Russia was required to acknowledge the River Pruth as her frontier. On December 10, Napoleon incorporated North-western Germany into his Empire. A part of the territory thus incorporated was the Duchy of Oldenburg, whose reigning prince, Peter, without the least ceremony or indemnification, was dethroned. (The son of Peter, the Crown-prince George, had just married the sister of Alexander, the lady whose hand Napoleon had sought in vain.) This was an insult to Alexander. The reply came without delay. The Ukase, December 31, 1810, admitted free entry into Russia of all English wares, and prohibited many important French articles. In this position, Napoleon attempted to win Austria by sacrificing Prussia. Jerome, King of Westphalia, wanted the Kingdom of Prussia, with Berlin for his metropolis. Napoleon was willing but for one consideration. He wished to bribe Austria with Prussian Silesia, and thus gain her alliance in the approaching war with Russia. Austria declined. This saved Prussia. The Westphalia plan fell through. Instead of annihilating Prussia, Napoleon made an alliance with her, offering favorable terms. The question with Prussia was annihilation or alliance. Here Frederic William has been blamed again for making this alliance, and for not being willing to break it. Instead of making an alliance, he would gladly and instantly have risen against France;

and offered to do so if the Czar would at once advance his armies to his support in Germany; but the military plan of Alexander, for the defense of Russia, rendered this impossible, and Frederic William was obliged patiently to bide his time. France had already possession of the principal Prussian fortresses, and Prussia was filled with French troops, which Napoleon had ordered there with a view to the Russian campaign. The Russian minister in Paris was now instructed to ask an explanation of the French troops accumulated in Prussia, and to request their withdrawal. The reply was: "The Emperor of France was not accustomed to distribute his troops at the suggestion of any foreign power." The Russian minister demanded his passports, and quitted Paris.

Russian campaign, 1812.

Napoleon (1812) commenced preparations. It is related that some one said to him: "*L'homme propose, mais Dieu dispose*," and that he repled: "*Moi, je propose, et je dispose aussi.*" It is certain that Fouché presented to him a memorial, stating the almost inevitable consequences of invading Russia. Napoleon replied: "The word 'impossible' is not French. The States of Europe must be melted into one, with Paris for its capital," etc., etc. Napoleon's uncle, Cardinal Fesch, also, told him the invasion of Russia "would bring down upon him the wrath of man, the fury of the elements, and the judgment of God." Napoleon led him to a window, and pointing to the sky, said: "Do you see that star?"—"No, sire!"—"*I do;* good-night!" And so Napoleon invaded Russia.

Army of Napoleon.

His army amounted at that time to seven hundred and sixteen thousand infantry, one hundred and fourteen thousand cavalry and artillery. The guard, thirty-eight thousand. A portion

of these troops were stationed in different parts of Europe. Austria, forced into an alliance, contributed thirty thousand men; Prussia, twenty thousand, under General York. The number of soldiers who actually crossed the Niemen was between five and six hundred thousand. They consisted of French, Italian, Swiss, Poles, Dutch, and the contingents of the German members of the Rhenish Confederation. The greater part were not Frenchmen.

Army of Alexander.

Alexander had about four hundred thousand regular troops; fifty thousand Cossacks, formidable, wild horsemen, at home in the deep snows and cold of the Russian winter; and the Russian population, eager to be recruited, ready to sacrifice property and life for the Emperor. The downtrodden nations of Europe, whom Napoleon had left behind, impatiently waited an opportunity to rise against him.

Napoleon at Dresden, May, 1812.

On May 16, having completed his arrangements, without any formal declaration of war, Napoleon, with Marie Louise, appeared at Dresden, where he had invited, or commanded, the attendance of a large number of sovereigns, allies, and vassals, and other distinguished persons. He remained several days, again assuming the character of King of Kings, and ordering to each one the course he was to pursue during the campaign. Among his guests were the Emperor and Empress of Austria and their family, King Frederic William of Prussia, the Kings of Naples, Würtemberg, and Westphalia; all the sovereigns of the inferior German States. Even Alexander had been invited. But the officer who bore the message could not obtain an audience. The invitation was then sent to the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs. It received no

answer. Frederic William brought with him his son, the Crown-prince, subsequently (1840) Frederic William IV. And here a change was observed in Napoleon's manner. His former haughtiness to Frederic William had disappeared. He received him and his son with courtesy and delicacy, which some ascribed to generosity, and some to calculation. On the other hand, Austria was treated with ostentatious unceremoniousness. Francis, no longer Emperor of Germany, was placed on a level with the other German sovereigns. On all occasions, Napoleon took precedence of him. The ladies of Francis' family were thrown into the shade by the grandeur of Marie Louise. The exclusive homage she received in their presence, the magnificence of her toilet, and the superior splendor of her diamonds, could not have been altogether agreeable, even to the most amiable of her royal relatives. There was now a succession of the most splendid *fêtes*. The Dresden Theater presented an interesting spectacle, as Napoleon made his appearance in the royal box, the center of this "audience of kings," every place occupied by the most distinguished persons; among others, Goethe, flattering and bending to the demi-god, with the strange, and (however unintentionally) ironical words: "All is accomplished."* The King of Saxony got up another scene. As Napoleon one evening took his place in the

* On being presented (1812) to Marie Louise, Goethe handed to her a poem in which he celebrated the happiness of the world, secured and consolidated by Napoleon, forgetting that Germany had been for six years, and still was, groaning under indescribable humiliations and sufferings under his despotism:

Ein Jeder fühlt sein Herz gesichert schlagen,
Und staunet nur, denn Alles ist vollbracht!
Was Tausende verwirrt, das löst der Eine
Worüber trüb' Jahrtausende gesonnen,
Er übersieht's im hellsten Geisterlicht.
Das Kleinliche ist Alles weggenommen,
Nun steht das Reich gesichert und gegründet, etc.

theater, the curtain rose, and revealed a gigantic sun encircled by an inscription: "The sun itself is less mighty and less brilliant." During all this time, Napoleon was still negotiating for peace.

Napoleon at Danzig.

Napoleon reached Danzig, June 7, and remained there a fortnight, still hoping a successful negotiation, and that his formidable display of forces might frighten Alexander into a peace. On the 22d, he published his first war bulletin, containing, among others, the following phrases: "Soldiers! Russia is dragged on by her fate. Her destiny must be accomplished. Let us march. Let us cross the Niemen. Let us carry war into her territories."

Alexander published a very different bulletin. "He had," it declared, "done every thing for peace which could be done by an independent state. Let us invoke the aid of Almighty God in defending our liberty, our religion, our native land." Napoleon appealed to destiny; Alexander, to God.

The gigantic invasion then commenced. The army,

NOTE—(Continued).

[*Translation.*]

Every one feels his heart beat with confidence
And with amazement. "It is finished."
What thousands made more doubtful, he has solved;
What gloomy ages darkly brooded over
Flashes on him in genius' brilliant light.
All that is mean his hand has swept away (doubtful?)
New stands the kingdom on foundations sure, etc.

At that moment the kingdom was about to topple headlong down into the dust.

The expression: "*It is finished;* what thousands made more doubtful, he has solved; new stands the kingdom," etc., are colossal in their unconscious irony.

The warrior poet, Theodor Körner, his father, Ernst Moritz Arndt, and Goethe, used sometimes to meet at Körner's house, at Dresden. One day, not long before the battle of Leipsic, they were thus together, and all, except Goethe, expressed indignation at the despotism of Napoleon. Goethe exclaimed angrily: "Shake your chains as much as you please, you can never break them. That man is too strong for you."

greater in number than any that had ever before followed a European leader, had been gradually advanced step by step, first to the Elbe, then to the Oder, then to the Vistula. Wherever Napoleon had appeared, he had been received with acclamations and arches of triumph, as if he were returning from victory, instead of advancing to battle. His first plan had been to march on St. Petersburg, and seize the Russian fleet at Cronstadt. This was found impracticable, and he determined to make Moscow his mark.

Plan of Napoleon.

The army, in three large divisions, began the passage of the Niemen, June 24, 1812. As the Emperor himself rode in front of the troops, to reconnoiter the river banks, his horse stumbled and threw him to the ground. "A Roman would call that a bad omen," he exclaimed. At the same moment the sky blackened, and a tremendous thunder-storm shook the earth. The invaders crossed the boundary line of Russia without opposition. The army of the Czar retreated before them. Napoleon reached Wilna, June 28, without a shot, hoping to seize the valuable Russian magazines of that town. But the magazines had been burned. This was a disappointment. He had already become alarmed at the possibility that his commissariat might fail. His stay at Wilna was prolonged twenty days by reports on this point. He found his enormous contracts had been but partially fulfilled; sometimes from real obstacles, sometimes from fraudulent motives, sometimes by contractors who had intentionally betrayed him. He became convinced, at Wilna, that two thirds of the expected supplies would fail. It was necessary to advance, in spite of this new danger, or immediately to abandon the campaign. He decided to advance. He was

At Wilna.

sure, at least, of reaching Moscow, and there his army would find food, rest, and a glorious peace. So the star which he had seen from the Tuileries went before him, till it came and stood over Moscow. Strange to say, he had no presentiment of the plan of Alexander.

Plan of Alexander.

This plan was simple, and had long before been matured, in view of the present contingency. The French army was to be lured forward into the heart of Russia, away from supplies, the Russian troops continually to retreat without a battle. The military genius of Napoleon would then have no opportunity to exercise itself. Magazines were to be burned; towns, that might afford shelter, laid in ashes; provisions withdrawn or destroyed, and the invading hosts detained and lured on till, without supplies and without shelter, exhausted and discouraged, they should, at last, confront their real enemy, the northern winter. The enthusiasm of the Russians equaled that of the Germans in the subsequent year. The French received no provisions whatever from the Russian peasants, while the Russian troops were always abundantly supplied. The Russian nobles went hand in hand with the peasants in their preparations. Men, money, food for the Russian armies flowed in from every quarter. The population of European Russia was fifty millions, and every man, woman, and child hated the invader with a religious hatred. Old Platoff, the commander-in-chief (*Hetman* of the Cossacks), promised his only daughter and two hundred thousand rubles to the man who should slay Napoleon.

At Witebsk there was some fighting, July 25, 26, 27. The French hoped the time had come; but the Russians, in perfect order, suddenly retreated, burning every vil-

lage on their way. As the French advanced, they found only solitary deserts. The Russian plan began to break upon them. The French army was growing continually weaker, the Russian stronger. Barclay de Tolly had retired to Smolensk, where he was joined by General Bargration; and between these two there was a difference of opinion. Barclay desired to continue the Fabian system. Bargration thought the time had come to try the sword. The Russian troops could not be kept back any longer.

Battle of Smolensk, Aug. 16, 1812.

Napoleon had crossed the Niemen at the head of the central army, two hundred and thirty-five thousand strong. Nearly two months had elapsed without a battle, and his numbers were perceptibly diminished. Smolensk is a fortified town, on the Dnieper, two hundred and fifty miles south-west of Moscow, and about half-way between the latter place and Wilna. The Russians here made a stand. Napoleon arrived, August 15, 1812, and immediately attacked. The assault was furiously made, and as furiously repelled. The next morning, Napoleon prepared to renew the attack; but, in the night, the enemy, after setting the town on fire, had retreated. The town, chiefly of wood, made a great conflagration.

Battle of Moskwa or Borodino, Sept. 7, 1812.

The aged Kutusoff had now received the chief command. His troops clamored for battle. He took a position between the village of Borodino and the River Moskwa, about seventy-five miles from Moscow. His object was to save that city. Napoleon believed the possession of it would crown his enterprise with success. Each army then numbered about one hundred and twenty thousand. Napoleon commanded in person, and made one of those fiery appeals,

by which he knew how to kindle the soul of his troops: "Soldiers! We have longed for a battle. Here it is at last. Here is the victory which will open the gates of Moscow, and bring us good winter-quarters, plenty of provisions, wealth, and glory. Posterity will say of each one of you: *He was in that great battle beneath the walls of Moscow.*" The battle commenced September 7, 1812, at four o'clock in the morning. It was the bloodiest and most desperate in which Napoleon had ever been engaged. He had need of all his energy and genius. The Russian soldiers had not come merely to fight; they had come to die. By hundreds and by thousands they threw themselves into the fire; when swept away, their places were instantly supplied. The Russians retreated in good order; eighty thousand dead, wounded, or dying (forty thousand on each side), remained on the field. Ney was created Prince of Moscow. The Russians had risked a battle and lost. The way to Moscow was now free. Napoleon dispatched a courier, with the resplendent news: "Moscow had fallen. The most glorious of all his victories had laid Russia at his feet."

Moscow.

On the 14th of September, 1812, Napoleon reached a height called, as if ironically, the *Hill of Salvation*, from which he caught his first view of Moscow; the promised land; the pledge of victory; the place of rest. There it lay! There he would levy ample contributions. There he would dictate a peace. As he reached the brow of the hill, he reined in his horse, and paused to gaze upon the half European, half Asiatic ancient city, glittering and sparkling in the sunshine, as striking as Jerusalem in its days of splendor. A hundred golden cupolas, a vast extent of steeples, rising above Oriental domes; the stately palaces and

gardens of the boyards (Russian nobility), several hundred churches; and, towering above all, upon an eminence in the center of the city, striking the eye with its lofty walls and gleaming towers, its battlements, steeples, and domes, sometimes gilt and sometimes variously painted with brilliant colors, the Kremlin, the massive and magnificent fortress of Moscow, and the palace of the Czars. Exulting shouts broke from the troops, "*Moscow! Moscow!*" Perhaps Napoleon was the only one who observed an inexplicable circumstance. There was not the least smoke from any chimney. Not a sentinel, not a guard, not a soldier, not a straggler from curiosity; not a child, not a human being on the walls, towers, roofs, roads. What did this mean? The enigma was soon solved. The French entered the city, September 15. The whole Russian population had abandoned it. The troops found themselves undisputed masters, and immediately commenced to plunder. They entered the open houses. They explored the gorgeous palaces. They seized, at pleasure, the richest objects in the bazars. They clutched massive plate of gold and silver. They clothed themselves with priceless garments of silk and fur. They drank their full of the costliest wines, without question or restraint. It was a fairy tale. Leaving his happy troops to their enjoyment, Napoleon retired to rest, and dreamed, perhaps, of a more distant campaign to the Ganges. At midnight he was awakened by a cry of fire. A conflagration had broken out. It increased. It broke out in another quarter, then in another, then in another. Flames presently burst forth, at a hundred different points. East, west, north, south, the wild conflagration spread. The outbreaks multiplied. Napoleon beheld it with consternation. The

truth flashed upon him. Alexander had sacrificed his magnificent city. The Kremlin stood like an island in a fire ocean. Desperate figures, detected feeding the fire, were seized, bound hand and foot, and pitched headlong into the flames. At last, the equinoctial gale arose and spread the fire with increasing violence. The Kremlin, long covered with showers of sparks and blazing brands, at length itself kindled. Napoleon, who had watched the catastrophe, from a position still pointed out in the Terema palace, remained till escape was dangerous and doubtful. He then rode out of the town through burning streets, black clouds of smoke, falling beams and embers, and took up his quarters in a suburban palace of the Czar. The conflagration lasted four days, and destroyed three fifths of the city. The Kremlin was saved. Scarcely any thing was left of Moscow. Alexander was justly punished for the Treaty of Tilsit. Napoleon returned to the Kremlin, September 20, remaining till October 19. From his decision of character and eagle glance, it might have been expected that he would instantly retreat at any cost. Suffering himself, on the contrary, to be deluded by hopes of peace, he lingered thirty precious days in Moscow, and offered to Alexander humble terms. His offers were unanswered. Count Lauriston had been his minister in St. Petersburg, and had enjoyed the especial favor of Alexander. He sent this officer to him with a letter, which he was to deliver in person. Lauriston went first to Kutusoff, whom he found surrounded by all his generals (October 6), and who received him with such bland courtesy, that he was sure of success. Kutusoff said, however, he was very sorry not to be able to enter into any negotiation himself. The Emperor Alexander was in St. Petersburg, and had

forbidden him to give a passport to any French messenger. He would, however, have the honor to forward the letter of his Majesty, the Emperor Napoleon, by one of his own aids-de-camp. This was all Lauriston could obtain. No answer from St. Petersburg could be received before the 26th. Time was flying. The days grew darker and darker, and shorter and shorter. Snow began to fall. Why might Napoleon not have remained in the wreck of the city? Because not a peasant would have brought any food, and his army might have starved for want of provisions, or it would have been surrounded by the enormous Russian population, and literally cut to pieces. He had intended to wait till the 26th, but Alexander had returned no answer, even to his communication from Dresden. What guarantee had he that he would answer now?

The retreat, October 19, 1812.

His doubts and anxieties were interrupted by the roar of cannon. Murat had been attacked and defeated by Bennigsen, October 18, at Vincoba, a village adjoining Moscow. Napoleon instantly commanded to retreat. He had previously ordered the Kremlin to be undermined and blown up, but this act of brutal rage happily failed. He left Moscow on the 19th, after an occupation of five weeks, the last Frenchman on the morning of the 22d. In the same afternoon, the remnant of the city was filled with Russian troops and peasants, bringing abundant provisions. The French left behind sick and wounded, but took numbers of wagons loaded with rich spoils. At Malo-Yaroslawek, about thirty miles from Moscow, Napoleon halted for rest. At midnight he was furiously attacked by old Kutusoff. The battle lasted all the next day. Five times the French lost the town, and five times

retook it. In the evening they remained masters of it, but the battle was not decided. Napoleon here occupied the wretched and filthy hut of a poor weaver, an ominous contrast to the stately Kremlin, in which he had hoped to dictate a European peace. His part of the room was separated by a dirty curtain from the space occupied by his attendant officers. During the night, he exhibited great nervous agitation, continually lying down to sleep, and starting up again, calling for some one, and then countermanding his call. At day-break, with a few officers, he went out to reconnoiter. He had not gone far, when a party of Platoff's Cossacks, in pursuit of several French companies, came full upon him. His attendants said: "Fly! fly!" Napoleon drew his sword, and ordered them to remain perfectly quiet by the roadside. The wild troop, with loud hurrahs, swept by without perceiving their prize. Their chief, probably, never knew how near he had been to two hundred thousand rubles, and, no doubt, a very beautiful young lady.

Napoleon continued his reconnoissance. He found that Kutusoff and his whole army were now placed on a strong and unassailable position. Platoff and his Cossacks were gathering around him. Kutusoff, it is believed, had here an opportunity to end the Russian campaign by the total destruction of Napoleon and his army, or he might have taken them prisoners. But here, as at several other points of this retreat, the name of Napoleon was his protection. Kutusoff did not dare to attack. From Malo-Yaroslawek, the French retreated over the old battle-ground of Borodino (September 7), still covered with dead bodies, to Smolensk. The army followed in three divisions: Napoleon himself with six thousand chosen horse, a division followed under Beau-

harnais, and another under Ney. The Russians were still afraid of attacking Napoleon himself, but they hotly pursued the other two divisions. These were beaten and put to flight. The troops of Ney and Beauharnais (October 22, 1812) were chased through the town of Viasma, flying, full gallop, for their lives. Viasma stands on an affluent of the Dnieper, one hundred miles from Smolensk.

And now commenced the horrors of the retreat. Now, as had been predicted by Fesch, burst upon Napoleon's head "the fury of the elements, the wrath of man, and the judgment of God." The northern winter broke upon them on their way to Smolensk (November 6). The cold reached 18° F. and gradually rose to 27° F. Food failed. Heavy columns of Russian troops pursued them, and clouds of Cossacks surrounded them, attacking night and day, and breaking up bridges before them. Biting winds, heavy snow-storms, and huge snow-drifts rendered their advance difficult, and for many impossible. The numbers continually diminished. The roads behind were blocked up by wreck and ruin. Trains of artillery, broken wagons loaded with abandoned spoils of gold and silver; dead or dying soldiers, who had sunk down, unable to go further. The Cossacks killed every straggler. A report of a Cossack officer said: "Many killed, few prisoners." Kutusoff had proclaimed to the Russian army and population, in order to enrage them the more, that Moscow had been burned by the French. There was small hope of mercy for the poor soldier whom Napoleon had dragged from the sunny fields of France, from the Rhine banks covered with vine, from the beautiful hills and plains of Bavaria, Baden, Würtemberg, Saxony, etc. Without clothing, without food, they toiled on in hope to meet at Smolensk an ample supply of provisions,

which they were told had been there collected by the French commissariat. There they would find food, clothing, supplies of every kind. There they could rest. There they would rally around Napoleon, and make a stand against the enemy. The remnants of the two divisions of Ney and Beauharnais at length rejoined Napoleon. They had (October 19) left Moscow one hundred thousand strong, and now, about the middle of November, forty thousand wretched beings arrived at Smolensk. There they met a deep disappointment. No provisions had been sent. The Russians, it will be remembered, had burned the town, which now afforded no place of rest. Here again Kutusoff ought to have attacked, but he did not dare to confront those desperate men under the personal command of that great soldier. It seems generally accepted that but for the fear inspired by Napoleon's presence, not a man of the grand army would have recrossed the Russian frontier.

Battle of Krasnoi.

After two or three days' rest at Smolensk, Napoleon left the half-destroyed town, dividing his diminished force into four columns, with orders to march on successive days. This was necessitated by want of provisions. Ney's column brought up the rear. Napoleon had scarcely departed when the Russians attacked Davoust and Mortier at Krasnoi, near Smolensk, and thoroughly defeated them.

Battle of Losmina.

As Ney came on, he was also attacked. A Russian officer summoned him to capitulate. He replied: "A marshal of France never surrenders." A furious battle took place. In the evening, Ney occupied his original position, and in the night effected his retreat in a way which the Russians supposed impossible. He withdrew his whole column across

the Dnieper, a terrible passage. A thaw had taken place, and, as the soldiers crossed, the ice in some spots bent beneath their feet. The river *must* be crossed. Safety lay before, destruction behind. The soldiers marched single file. The passage was attempted at different points. The mass of the troops got over, but the cannon were lost, and from various directions, in the long, dark night, shrieks announced that, one after another, the wagons bearing the wounded were going down in the black flood. Napoleon, who had believed Ney, with his division, killed or prisoner, received him with astonishment and joy. He embraced him, and hailed him as "bravest of the brave."

The Beresina, Nov. 26-29, 1812.

The Beresina, a branch of the Dnieper, was the next river. Napoleon arrived, November 27, 1812. His army at Smolensk, forty thousand, had now shrunk to twelve thousand. At the moment when this wretched band seemed destined to be finally exterminated by their pursuers, the air was filled with the well-known sounds which mark the advance of a body of troops. Imagine the joy, when the new-comers proved to be Oudinot, Victor, and St. Cyr, at the head of re-inforcements. These had not been at Moscow, but had been in Russian Poland and elsewhere, in Western Russia. The passage of the river now commenced. Oudinot had crossed with a part of his troops. Victor, with his division, was still on the eastern bank when the Russians and Cossacks, under Wittgenstein, Platoff, etc., appeared on the heights above them. Napoleon had been able to erect only two bridges, one very narrow. The crowd of troops, sick and wounded, women, and horses, all pressed to get upon the bridges. The Russians opened a steady cannonade upon this helpless multitude. The bridges bent and swayed under their burden. The larger

of the two, under the weight of the wagons and cannon, suddenly broke down. The shrieks were heard above the roar of the battle and the wild hurrahs of the Cossacks. The crowds who had not yet passed now concentrated toward the remaining bridge, trampling upon and even cutting down each other. The Russian cannon were directed with merciless precision upon them and the remaining bridge. The frail structure at last burst into flames,—lighted, it is said, by the French themselves, to cut off the pursuit. Hundreds perished by the cannon; others were trampled down and suffocated. Thousands were drowned. A large number, including sick and wounded, were abandoned to the Russians on the east side of the river.

After the passage, Napoleon continued the retreat to Wilna. The cold increased. It was the severest winter within the memory of man. The Cossacks swarmed around. The French often marched by night. Hordes of giant, ravenous wolves followed the fugitives, and came even into Germany. Soldiers continually dropped, and were never heard of more. Horses were killed, and their warm skins used as cloaks. Hundreds found death and burial at the same time in the deep snow-drifts. Hundreds halted for rest, fell asleep, and never woke. Their companions, aroused by the Cossacks, sprang up and resumed their flight; but crowds often remained. These were dead bodies, lying or sitting around their watch-fires, frozen to death. In some cases, human flesh was eaten. No doubt, many terminated their existence. Not a man would have been saved, but for another re-inforcement of troops, sent forward from Poland by Maret, Duke of Bassano. Amid these horrors, Napoleon's generals behaved admirably.

The passage of the Beresina has become a by-word to express the horrors of war. In the spring, when the ice melted, thirty-six thousand bodies were taken out of the river. It is difficult to estimate the number altogether sacrificed during this campaign. According to Russian official reports, one hundred thousand were taken prisoner, and in the spring, two hundred and forty-three thousand dead bodies were found upon the plains. At least three hundred thousand of the allied armies, generally able-bodied young men, perished. Half Europe was in mourning.

Napoleon's Twenty-ninth Bulletin.

On the 3d of December, Napoleon issued his celebrated Twenty-ninth Bulletin. Europe had yet received no information of the colossal disaster. It was now informed that "the Emperor was safe and well, but the grand army was destroyed by the elements."

Return to Paris, Dec. 18, 1812.

Napoleon now took leave of his marshals, appointing Murat commander-in-chief in his place, and, accompanied by Duroc, Coulaincourt, and Loban, started for Paris in an open sledge. On the 14th he reached Dresden, where the King of Saxony secretly visited him. After four hours' rest in bed, he left in a more comfortable carriage. On the 18th, late at night, he entered the Tuileries. Paris was in great agitation. A conspiracy (Malet) had nearly succeeded in dethroning him. The moment his presence was known, public confidence returned. So magical was the influence of his name, that all France rose with enthusiasm. The army had been destroyed, but the Emperor was safe, and would soon make it all right again. In a few weeks, he was once more ready to take the field at the head of three hundred and fifty thousand men.

Rising in Germany.—War of Liberation, 1812-1814.

The sudden news kindled an indescribable emotion in Germany, greater from the fact that Napoleon had dispatched courier after courier announcing victories. More than thirty thousand French fugitives, officers and soldiers, had crowded into Königsberg. Murat had been appointed commander-in-chief of the city. Standing at his window, he saw a French *gendarme* strike a Prussian recruit. The comrades of the Prussian sprang upon him, and killed him. The palmy days of French military executions had passed. Murat fled from the city. The Prussian people wreaked no cruel vengeance upon the remnants of Napoleon's army. The sufferers were compassionately received and generously assisted on their way home.

York.

Frederic William had been compelled to place twenty thousand troops at the disposition of Napoleon. With deep humiliation, the Prussian General York found himself thus obliged to serve under a French Field-marshal, Macdonald, Duke of Taranto. During the campaign of Moscow, Macdonald had been left with his forces, including the Prussian troops, to conduct an independent line of operations against the Russian fortress of Riga. While thus engaged, Macdonald received a dispatch from Napoleon, announcing the destruction of the French army, and ordering him instantly to retreat from Riga, and to concentrate his army corps, including the Prussian troops under York, at Königsberg, and in the fortresses of Pillau, Danzig, and Graudenz. Macdonald immediately began the movement: York commanded the rear guard. Believing the hour had come to shake off the French yoke, and without the order or even the knowledge of Frederic William, instead

of following Macdonald, York concluded a convention with the Russian General Diebitsch, by which he stipulated to remain neutral with his troops. This was an abandonment of the French army and cause. *Tauroggen, Dec. 30, 1812.*

These acts were hailed by the whole Prussian and German people with one loud and simultaneous hurrah. Nevertheless, Frederic William disavowed York, and recalled him from his command. This case offers an illustration of the danger of York's course. There were considerations which, had he reflected, would have prevented York from yielding to the temptation of the moment. The king at that time resided at Potsdam. Before setting out on the Russian campaign, Napoleon had left express orders to watch him with the greatest vigilance. He only waited a pretext to seize him, and carry him to Paris as a hostage. The King of Spain and the Pope show what Napoleon was capable of doing. He had also threatened to seize Bernadotte, the King of Sweden, on his throne, and cause him to finish his education in the State prison of Vincennes. Augereau, who then commanded the French troops at Berlin, was the very man for such a deed. Who could tell what Napoleon could and would do? He was by no means overthrown. He suddenly re-appeared at the head of three hundred and fifty thousand soldiers. Had he finally regained power, Prussia, in consequence of the desertion of York, would have been destroyed. This may be seen by the notes of Maret, Duke of Bassano, then French Minister of Foreign Affairs, and by the dark threats uttered on the subject by Napoleon himself. There were also other considerations. The king was conscientiously impressed with the not very fashionable idea that even

a disadvantageous alliance formally concluded, ought not to be broken without notice. His unexcitable nature was not carried away by the popular enthusiasm, and his deep sense of right hesitated. There was something in his character just and kingly. Before he adopted a course, however demanded by popular clamor, he desired to examine whether it was right, and to reflect whether it was practical. No doubt he sometimes carried this too far. Napoleon could act rapidly because he had no scruples. He thought only of his passion, or his interest.

Field-marshal Macdonald.

Field-marshal Macdonald had helped Napoleon pitch the French Directory out of the windows (1799). In his very awkward office, a French marshal commanding a Prussian general in Prussia, he had exhibited generosity, delicacy, and tact. After the Treaty of Tauroggen, the Prussian troops under his immediate command, left him and went over to York. One Prussian officer, whose duty that day required his personal attendance on Macdonald, had, of course, remained behind. Macdonald courteously dismissed him and, with friendly kindness, wished him a pleasant journey. Under Augereau or Davoust very likely the officer would have been shot.

Personal danger of the king, he retires to Breslau.

Potsdam, where the king resided, was, by the terms of the alliance with Napoleon, to be kept free from French military occupation. It had a very peculiar look, therefore, when, not three weeks after the Convention of Tauroggen, a French division, four thousand strong, marched into Potsdam; report declared, to carry away the king. Frederic William left Potsdam the 22d, accompanied by the Russian guard, his family, Prince Hardenberg, etc., and repaired to Breslau, the capital of Silesia,

a district quite free from French troops. His journey was made with great rapidity. It was, in fact, a flight.

The Prussian estates demand war.

Napoleon had reached Paris in December, and February 9, the *nommé Stein* had procured the convocation of the Prussian estates at Königsberg. This assembly immediately passed a resolution demanding war.

Frederic William appeals to his people, March 20, 1813.

Frederic William had bided his time, and it came at last. He now appealed to his people in a noble proclamation. "The Peace of Tilsit," he said, "had brought no blessing, but only sunk the country deeper, and inflicted greater wounds than even the war. I have tried, by the most conscientious fulfillment of all duties, to lighten the burden imposed upon my people, but my purest endeavors have been answered by haughtiness and treachery. The French Emperor seeks our destruction. The hour is come. Remember the Great Elector, remember Frederic the Great, remember how the Russians, the Spaniards, the Portuguese have nobly confronted our insatiable enemy. Think of Switzerland and Holland. Courage, perseverance, the aid of our allies, and trust in God will crown us with victory. We must conquer, or cease to be Prussians and Germans. The struggle is for our existence. We have only two alternatives: an honorable peace, or glorious death. God will give victory to our righteous cause." The above proclamation was accompanied by one to the army, which rang like a trumpet through every Prussian soldier's heart.

Frederic William soon issued another proclamation, dissolving the Confederation of the Rhine, promising to restore the German constitution *in the full sense of rejuvenescence and unity* (lebens-kräftige Verjüngung und Ein-

heit) *without foreign influence.* This somewhat obscure phraseology was received by the nation as a promise that, after the overthrow of Napoleon, either the old Empire should be renewed in a modified form, or that the princes and people should co-operate in constructing a new united Germany on the basis of popular representation.

Proclamation of Kalisch, March 25, 1813.

Kutusoff had pursued the French from Moscow to Kalisch, where he also issued a proclamation, in the name of the two sovereigns, announcing an alliance between Alexander and Frederic William. It was addressed to the members of the Confederation of the Rhine, calling upon them to "throw off the protectorship of Napoleon, and join the great movement against him." The members of the Confederation took no notice of this or of the other proclamation, and among the allies, discord appeared already. The German people were not pleased to find themselves under the guidance of Russia. Austria was not the only power which began to be afraid of what some called "the newly-promised Jacobin constitution." A few weeks after this proclamation, Kutusoff died of fatigue.

Proclamations of Kutusoff.—Kalisch, March 25, 1813.

The Prussian people now rose with enthusiasm. It had been feared a forced conscription would be necessary, but the only difficulty was to select from the throngs of volunteers. An army sprang up out of the ground. Young and old, —men, women, boys, Landwehr, Landsturm,—were all ready. The teacher left his school-room, the clerk his desk, the husband his wife, the lover his bride. Student and professor turned their backs together upon the university. Young noblemen left their palaces, enlisted as

Effect of the proclamations.

privates, and marched shoulder to shoulder with the day-laborer, the blacksmith, the peasant-boy. Families poured their gold and silver plate, their jewels, ornaments, and rings into the treasury. Young girls, with nothing else to give, cut off and sold their hair, and contributed the value in money. Many a pound of sunshiny raven, brown, and golden tresses was joyfully laid upon the altar of the fatherland. In a short time, two hundred and seventy-one thousand soldiers, mostly volunteers, stood impatient for battle, and beside these, in every town and village of Prussia, was a self-organized, self-equipped Landwehr (militia) ready for action. Since the battle of Jena, Prussia had undergone a transformation. The nation learned to value the Gospel, and Weber says: "The soldier, in this war, before he set out, partook of the holy communion." Schenkendorf, Frederic Rückert, Arndt, Körner (who fell in one of the first conflicts), threw off songs and hymns of fire. This noble rising was almost confined to Prussia. She who had been the last to enter the field now stood first, and almost alone, in the determination to risk all. Austria did not sincerely want the total overthrow of Napoleon. The Confederation of the Rhine had not yet had enough of her new protector. Saxony held on to Napoleon to the very last. There were serious difficulties in the way of Prussia.

Napoleon.

Napoleon again on his throne, at the head of his army, resumed all his imperious ambition, and breathed out threatenings and slaughter against his enemies. He formed the plan of a new Russian campaign, but he paused first to complete the destruction of Prussia.

A new sixth coalition was now formed against him:

Prussia, Russia, England, Sweden, Spain. It was supposed to be the intention of Alexander, in the alliance of Kalisch, to depose all the German sovereigns in the Confederation of the Rhine, and all the separate German princes who had joined the cause of Napoleon, and to erect Germany into an Empire, with the King of Prussia as Emperor. The plan, if it existed, failed.

New sixth coalition.

Public opinion, and, no doubt, the king's own personal instinct, required the restoration of York. That stern and resolute general, on the occasion of his convention of Tauroggen, had written a truly heroic letter to the king, taking upon himself the entire and exclusive responsibility, and offering to submit to the punishment which every soldier merits for disobedience of orders. "I am willing," he said, "to suffer, and I shall receive a bullet on the place of execution as peacefully as if it were upon the field of battle." He was justly replaced with high honor in his rank. Augereau and his force had withdrawn from Berlin early in March; and, at the head of fifteen thousand troops, York entered the city through the Brandenburg gate, amid the thundering applause and triumphant cheers of the whole assembled population.

York's triumphant entry into Berlin, March 17, 1813.

So great was the respect for Napoleon's genius and the fear of his merciless generals, that Germany still hesitated. The near approach of the Russian troops encouraged the town of Lüneburg (Hanover) to rise. The French General Morand suppressed the insurrection, arrested a number of the inhabitants, and ordered them to be shot. They were saved only by the rapid advance of the Russians and Prussians.

Battle of Lüneburg.

At Möckern and Damgau, York attacked the French (Beauharnais), twenty-seven thousand strong, and defeated them, inflicting a loss of six hundred dead and nine hundred prisoners.

Battle of Möckern and Damgau, April 5, 1813.

A Russian and Prussian force, under Wittgenstein and Blücher, confronted Napoleon at Grossgörschen. After a severe battle, Napoleon occupied the field; but his loss had been greater than that of the enemy. Here the noble Scharnhorst received a death wound.

Battle of Lützen, or Grossgörschen, May 2, 1813.

At Bautzen, the French made a firm stand. Napoleon himself, supported by Ney, Oudinot, Duroc, Soult, directed the battle. He had superior numbers and an opportunity to unfold all his military genius; but his science was understood and his prestige gone. It was in vain that he made his finest combinations. Blücher and Barclay de Tolly baffled his plans, stood firm against his charges, and at one moment put seven thousand of the French to flight. Napoleon raged and threatened. He rushed into the very hottest of the fire, but the days of Lodi and Arcole were gone. He branded his ablest generals as "creeping scoundrels!" "What! no result? Not a prisoner? Not a gun?" His soldiers fell around him. He saw his General Bryère shot dead, and Duroc, his dearest personal friend, while speaking with him, was killed by a cannon-ball. Night interrupted the battle. Sitting by the dead body of Duroc, Napoleon shed tears of genuine anguish and affection. He refused to listen even to reports of the battle, waving every one away with his hand: "To-morrow! To-morrow!"

Battle of Bautzen, May 20 and 21, 1813.

Bautzen was, in reality, a defeat of the French. The allies lost ten thousand; the French, fifteen thousand.

Francis had not joined the coalition. He was still afraid of Napoleon, and then his daughter was on the throne of France. After the battle of Bautzen, he proposed an armistice and a congress, with a view to a final peace. Napoleon was glad to accept. The congress (of diplomates) met at Prague, and Napoleon returned to Dresden. Metternich came to Dresden, and had an interview with him of nine hours. They met in the large palace, now the city hospital, in Friedrichstadt; and a part of the time walked together in the beautiful garden. Napoleon offered Austria one half of Prussia if she would remain neutral. Metternich refused. He said the allies would make peace only on three conditions: I. The Confederation of the Rhine to be dissolved. II. Their rank and territory to be restored to every European sovereign. III. The Rhine to be the frontier of France.

Armistice of Plesswitz, June 4, 1813.

"*Allons donc! Metternich,*" said Napoleon, "how much has England paid you to take part against me?"

Now that the allies had made a real and honest coalition, no one stood firmer and did more than Frederic William.

The conditions stated by Metternich were afterward officially communicated to Napoleon. His generals urged him to accept. "*Never!*" he cried; "*ten lost battles would not sink me lower than you would sink me. Not a village, not a stone shall be taken from the French Empire.*" To the ultimatum, he returned a negative answer. Two days after, having received news of Wellington's victory over Joseph Bonaparte, he saw his danger, and dispatched a courier to the Congress of Prague, announcing his readiness to accept the terms proposed. It was too late. The

Ultimatum of Austria.

armistice had expired the day before. Austria had joined the coalition; and along the Elbe, and on the Saxon frontiers of Bohemia and Silesia, rocket after rocket rose into the night sky, announcing the accession of Austria. On August 12, Francis declared war.

Battle of Grossbeeren, August 23, 1813.

Napoleon immediately dispatched Ney and Oudinot, with sixty thousand men, to occupy Berlin. The Prussian troops, to whom had been assigned the defense of Berlin, were principally Landwehr (militia), of whom Napoleon had always spoken contemptuously as mere rowdies. Oudinot had nearly reached Berlin, when, at the village of Grosbeeren, about ten miles from the gates, he found General Tauenzien with his "rowdies," as ready for a fight as Napoleon or any of his old veterans had ever been. They resisted the attack of the French with steady perseverance. Slowly yielding to superior numbers, they at length retreated from the village of Grossbeeren, and would have been beaten at last had not Von Bülow, with his force, appeared. The elements, as at Moscow, were here against Napoleon. Floods of rain drenched the powder on both sides. Bülow gave orders to charge with the bayonet, and then to use the breech. The Prussian soldiers were more athletic than those of Oudinot, and the substitute of the bayonet for the ball was favorable to them. A complete victory was the result.

Bernadotte.

Bernadotte, one of Napoleon's able generals, had been (1810) elected Crown-prince of Sweden, Charles XIII., King of Sweden, being without heirs, and ill. Although the king did not expire till February 5, 1818, Bernadotte was immediately clothed with regal power, and afterward reigned (as Charles XIV., John). By the promise of Norway, he had been induced

to join the allies against his ancient master. He is accused of having played a double part in this campaign, under the idea that on the downfall of Napoleon, he (Bernadotte) might be called to the French throne. We relate this without vouching for it. Some historians deny, and paint Bernadotte in a favorable light.

Position of the two armies.

Napoleon had taken his position at Dresden. His army amounted to about two hundred and fifty thousand men. The allies lay at various points around Dresden; their chief force under Prince Schwarzenberg, at Prague, consisted of two hundred thousand. Blücher, with eighty thousand, waited in Silesia, where he was opposed to Macdonald. The Crown-prince Bernadotte, at Berlin, had ninety thousand; total, three hundred and seventy thousand. Napoleon maneuvered with the intention to attack one or the other of the allied armies separately, in which case he hoped, as he had so often done before, to beat them in detail. Or, should they make a combined attack, he could rapidly bring re-inforcements from any point. The allies, however, had now become acquainted with his mode of fighting. They met it with a counterplan. The three allied armies were ordered *not to accept any separate battle.*

Battle of Dresden, August 26, 27, 1813.

Napoleon hastened into Silesia to destroy, first, the separate Prussian army of Blücher. But, in obedience to the plan, Blücher most reluctantly retreated in the face of the enemy. Napoleon furiously pursued, but was arrested by information that Schwarzenberg, Francis, Alexander, and Frederic William had driven St. Cyr from Pirna, and had appeared on the heights of Dresden with forces six times outnumbering those of St. Cyr. At the moment when Schwarzen-

berg was sure of victory, Napoleon reached the right bank of the Elbe at Dresden, dashed across the Augustus bridge, and immediately attacked. His unequaled genius was here again displayed, and, after a hotly contested conflict, the allied armies withdrew from the field. Great loss on each side. Napoleon had achieved a victory, but it was not one of his old-fashioned triumphs.

Moreau.

Moreau, the reader will remember, had been charged with complicity in the plot of Cadoudal, and had consequently remained several years in the United States. Alexander had invited him to return, and became personally attached to him. At an early hour in the battle of Dresden, Napoleon had directed several cannon to be fired on a group of officers standing on a hill near Räcknitz, apparently reconnoitering. In the group were Alexander and Moreau. A ball shattered both Moreau's legs. The amputation took place in the presence of Alexander. During the operation, Moreau smoked a cigar, and died five days afterward. A monument shows the spot.

Battle of Katzbach, Aug. 26, 1813.

The Katzbach is a branch of the Oder, near Liegnitz. When Napoleon abandoned the pursuit of Blücher, and hastened back to save Dresden, he no doubt thought Macdonald would easily finish up his flying enemy. This was not, however, the idea of Blücher. The moment that general found Napoleon had retired and that he was released from the rule, he turned short round, supported by York and Gneisenau, and advancing upon Macdonald with an exulting shout, "*Forward! Forward!*" ordered a general attack. The cry was taken up in a frenzy of triumph by the whole Prussian army: "*Forward! Forward! Forward!*" resounded on all sides. The French were unable to resist.

The battle had commenced the same day as the battle of Dresden. It lasted four days. The army of Macdonald was destroyed. From that day the people of Prussia bestowed upon Blücher the name of "Marshal Forward!"

Battle of Culm, Aug. 29, 1813.

The battles of Dresden and Katzbach were followed by a striking victory of the Prussians (Kleist) at Culm over the French General Vendamme, one of the worst of Napoleon's generals, of whom some were so noble. Vendamme was taken prisoner. In 1807 he had commanded in Silesia, and there oppressed and plundered without mercy. On his way to prison, he was recognized by the people and followed with hootings and insults.

Battle of Dennewitz, Sept. 6, 1813.

Forty thousand Prussians some days afterward, under Bülow and Tauenzien, put to flight a French army of seventy thousand under Ney.

Battle of Leipsic, Oct. 16, 17, 18, 19, 1813.

The report of these victories resounded throughout Germany and in the ears of the hero of Campo Formio. He had been accustomed to shouts of Lodi, Arcole, Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena, Friedland. Instead of these, Europe now rung with Moscow, Beresina, Lützen, Bautzen, Grossbeeren, Katzbach, Culm, Dennewitz. The battle of Dresden was Napoleon's last triumph. Fatigue, anxiety, exposure, want of food had disturbed his health. During those great battle-days he sometimes scarcely ate any thing. After Dresden he was ill and low-spirited. Besides the rapid defeats, the German allies began to desert. Bavaria joined the coalition. The Saxon General Thielemann, intrusted with the fortress of Torgau, surrendered to Prussia. Jerome, King of Westphalia, who had led a profligate life at the palace of Wilhelmshöhe, fled from Cassel on the mere appearance of Prussian troops. Na-

poleon lingered at Dresden as if he did not know what to do. He had yet a formidable army. He might have withdrawn behind the Rhine and met his enemies in France. The French nation would perhaps have risen *en masse*. There he might have made a favorable treaty and remained sovereign of France. But he determined upon another battle, abandoned his intention to march upon Berlin, and concentrated his troops in and near Leipsic. The allied armies accordingly closed around that town. Prince Schwarzenberg, with Frederic William, Francis, and Alexander, appeared upon the plains adjoining the city. Their chief generals, Schwarzenberg, Blücher, Kleist, York, Gneisenau, Bülow, Barclay, Wittgenstein, Bennigsen, Gortschakoff, Prince Eugene of Würtemberg, etc. Against this force Napoleon could bring fewer troops, but he depended upon his world-renowned generals, Ney, Murat, Augereau, Bertrand, Poniatowski, Marmont. This great decisive battle now took place and lasted four days. It was the crisis of Napoleon's career. He had at last conjured up against him all Europe; therefore, the battle is called the *Völkerschlacht* (Battle of the Nations). The army of the allies at last actually on the field was two hundred and fifty thousand; that of Napoleon, one hundred and sixty thousand.

First day.—Before day-break on the morning of Saturday, 16th, three white rockets rose into the sky from the spot occupied by Schwarzenberg and the three allied sovereigns. They were immediately answered by three red ones from the camp of Blücher. These were signals agreed upon to show that all was ready. At day-break, three heavy cannon-shots from Schwarzenberg's tent announced the commencement of the battle. Frederic William, Francis, and Alexander stood together

upon a hill. Napoleon had planted three hundred cannon at the village of Wachau, before whose murderous fire the Russians and Prussians, under Eugene of Würtemberg, Kleist, and Gortschakoff, retreated with great loss. Napoleon then launched ten thousand of his finest cavalry, under Murat, to break through the center of the allies and storm the hill on which the three sovereigns and Schwarzenberg stood. The four prisoners would have been a pretty prize to begin with. The furious charge was watched by Schwarzenberg with tranquillity. He begged the three sovereigns to retire some distance from their dangerous position; then, drawing his sword, advanced along the line of the allied troops and ordered a general attack. The French were driven back, and one of their generals, Latour Mauburg, mortally wounded. The battle raged all day. At noon, as his three hundred cannon had broken through the Russian troops, Napoleon had sent a courier to France with news of another victory, and caused all the bells of Leipsic to ring. In the evening, he found his mistake. His attack at Wachau had brought no decisive result, while at Möckern, on the opposite side of Leipsic, Blücher had completely beaten Marmont.* Napoleon was so discouraged that, in the middle of the night, he sent one of his prisoners, the Austrian General Meerveldt, to Francis, begging an armistice and offering concessions.

Second day, Sunday, 17th.—Both armies made this a day of rest.

The French were dispirited. Napoleon waited an answer from Francis; but Meerveldt never came back, and

* At Möckern, as the night fell on the combatants, the victorious Prussian troops broke out into the old hymn: "*Nun danket Alle Gott*," then, no other building material being at hand to shield them from the biting wind, they made a wall of dead bodies, and so slept upon the field.

no answer was received. The dispatch probably never reached. Frederic William and Alexander were both deeply interested in keeping Napoleon and Francis from any separate arrangement. Napoleon ought at least now to have withdrawn with the army into France. His marshals earnestly entreated. He steadily refused: "*Jamais! Jamais!*" The sky had been covered with clouds. In the evening it rained; but at midnight the moon rose and shed a clear light over the field, already covered with dead. After the sun of Austerlitz, rose the moon of Leipsic. Napoleon passed a sleepless night giving orders. Incredible to relate, he took no measures to facilitate a retreat. Immediately adjoining Leipsic, the Pleisse and Elster, and their various branches, expand at points into deep if not broad streams. No bridges were thrown over these. One single bridge existed. This the French occupied. Napoleon placed his army in the form of a crescent and waited.

The French on the second day.

The allies were also glad to rest on the second day. Their arrangements were not fully completed. Bernadotte (always lingering behind) was yet absent, but during the whole day re-inforcements were flowing in. Before the morning of the third day Bernadotte, with his army and all the other expected forces, had arrived. The two hundred and fifty thousand troops were stationed around the city in a half circle.

The allies on the second day.

Third day, 18th.—At length the day of retribution arrived. At seven in the morning a steady simultaneous cannonade began to pour death upon the French. We do not pretend to describe the battle, least of all from a military point of view. It raged murderously all day, and

concentrated itself successively at different points, particularly at the village Probstheida, where Napoleon had taken his station. The village was repeatedly attacked and successfully defended. Napoleon stood on an elevation near an old windmill, and from this point guided the battle. Here, nearly the whole day, amid thunder, smoke, crash, and fire; his men continually falling around him; couriers rushing in with reports; new defeats; fatal disasters; the death of high officers; the desertion of allies; the great, calm soldier, the world slipping out of his grasp, maintained his position till late in the afternoon. Three hundred cannon for some time directed their fire upon Probstheida. The balls often struck near him, and dashed and scattered around him various objects in all directions. Many a shot was sent against the windmill with its wide-spread wings. Here, as the day declined, evil tidings thickened. The ammunition of the artillery was failing. General Viol was killed. General Rochambeau had just fallen, both nearly at his side. Darker and faster came the news. The enemy was triumphantly advancing. Thousands of French were seen flying along the high-road to Leipsic. At four in the afternoon Napoleon saw not a hope remained. With composure he gave the necessary orders. Then, exhausted (the previous night had been sleepless, and probably the night before), he sank down upon his camp-stool by the table covered with maps, now of no more use, and immediately fell into a deep sleep. The enemy was advancing nearer and nearer; the battle closed around; the marshals dared not wake him. At length Murat ventured to do so. He instantly rose, cast a penetrating glance into the faces of his officers, and quietly giving a few more orders, retreated into Leipsic. *Night*

again.—Napoleon at first thought himself not absolutely conquered. The two extremities of his crescent had been pressed back, but the center had not moved. He was, however, too much weakened to renew the battle. The ammunition of the artillery, which in the last three days had fired two hundred and twenty thousand shot, was now wholly exhausted. Late in the evening, he gave the final order for a general retreat. It commenced at midnight, and went on silently till day-break. Macdonald and Poniatowski had been appointed to hold the town and cover the retreat. Poniatowski remarked: "Sire, I have but a few men left."—"Well," said Napoleon, "defend with those few."—"Sire," he answered, "we are all ready to die for your Majesty;" and nobly he suited the action to the word. In the evening, Schwarzenberg brought the three allied sovereigns information of their certain victory. They were standing on the elevation, now called the Monarchenhügel (Monarch's Hill). On receiving the news, it is said, they knelt down together and offered up thanks to God. An iron obelisk marks the spot, and a monument at Probstheida, the point from which Napoleon led the battle.

Fourth day, 19th.—The greatest part of French army in full retreat. The town still held out. Prince Schwarzenberg ordered to storm. It was furiously attacked, and resolutely defended by Macdonald and Poniatowski. At eleven a Prussian Landwehr battalion broke through the Grimma-gate, and forced their way into the town. Napoleon fled out of it at twelve. Before leaving, he hastily visited the King of Saxony. Then, amid wreck and ruin, the ever nearer approaching thunder of cannon, the shouts of the victors, the shrieks of the dying, dead bodies by thousands, of his slaughtered soldiers, making

his way with difficulty and danger through streets blocked and jammed up with wagons, horses, wains, cannon, soldiers, the victor of Jena, the dictator of Tilsit, the murderer of Palm, the tyrant who had so mercilessly trodden Prussia and Germany beneath his feet, turned his back forever upon the exulting city.* In the village of Lindenau, near Leipsic, he again enjoyed a short sleep, soon broken by the blowing up of the Elster bridge.

The allied sovereigns had entered the town at one o'clock. The French, under Macdonald and Poniatowski, with his Poles, had defended it to the last moment; but as the gates were stormed, Poniatowski, Macdonald, and all under their command, pressed through the narrow streets to the gate which led to the Elster bridge. By order of Napoleon, the bridge had been undermined, to be blown up as soon as the French should have passed; but, when the bridge and the shores were still crowded with fugitive troops, the match was prematurely applied. The bridge, with its close-wedged mass of human beings, was exploded. Soldiers, horses, cannon, wains flew up into the air, and rolled back into the narrow but deep river. Numbers were drowned. Macdonald and Poniatowski plunged into the Elster, with their horses. Macdonald reached the opposite shore, but Poniatowski, who had been twice wounded, was exhausted. His horse rolled over, and he sank beneath the flood. His body was found four days afterward, covered with mud.

* A lady, fifty years ago, told the writer she saw Napoleon as he was in the act of leaving. Some of the windows of her house fronted the inside of the town wall. Looking through a parterre window, she saw him ride up and stop a few moments. She had a near and clear view of his countenance. It was gloomy and pale, the expression that of great anxiety. He seemed exhausted. Finding his way blocked up, he rode back again.

Here fifteen thousand prisoners, two hundred cannon, twenty-three thousand sick and wounded fell into the hands of the allies. Among them many Germans (Confederation of the Rhine). Lauriston, a school-mate and trusted friend of Napoleon, was here also taken prisoner. As French minister in St. Petersburg (1812), he had been universally esteemed and caressed. A band of Cossacks now brought before Alexander a pale, exhausted, wretched-looking being, his haggard face, dishevelled hair, and torn clothes covered with slime and blood. The Emperor could scarcely recognize his old acquaintance, and received him with the greatest kindness.

The old Marktplatz of Leipsic, Oct. 19, 1813.

The traveler of our day passing through Leipsic may well stop an hour or two, if only to visit the old market-place of that venerable city, and imagine the scene there presented on the afternoon of the 19th. For the four previous days, the earth had trembled under the continual, tremendous roar of two thousand cannon. Twenty villages around in flames. Death and destruction everywhere. The success of the French would make them masters of Germany, drunk with victory, furious for revenge, breathing out contributions, court-martials, military executions.

And now, instead of this, the merciless tyrant was dashed to pieces; streets, windows, house-tops were packed close with the entire population, in a frenzy of delight. A division of the troops was drawn up on each side, and the three sovereigns came into the square on foot, surrounded by their principal generals, hot from the battle: Schwarzenberg, old Marshal "Forward," York, Gneisenau, Bülow, Gortschakoff, Bennigsen, Wittgenstein, Barclay, greeted with unending hurrahs and the pealing of all the town-bells. After so many years of slavery,

Germany thought she had broken her chains at last. Among the spectators was the son of Frederic William III., subsequently Emperor of Germany, then aged twenty.

The field after the battle.

The allies had lost fifty thousand men, including two thousand officers. The French about the same number. Nearly one hundred thousand dead or wounded were stretched on the field. Some time passed before any adequate attention could be paid to these. Many bodies were devoured by the fowls of the air. The wounded, yet living, had a more dreadful fate. They were left during several days and nights in the cold October winds till death released them, or till they could at last be transported to newly-erected hospitals. Some were slain by robbers, and stripped of their money and clothes. Surgeons, beds, bandages, lint were almost wholly wanting. Leipsic and the environs became one vast hospital. A fever broke out among the invalids, and swept away thousands.

King of Saxony.

King Frederic Augustus beheld the triumphant *cortège* from his window, and humbly greeted the sovereigns as they passed. They responded coldly. He then communicated to them his request to be admitted to their presence. This was refused, and by Alexander's order he was transferred to Berlin, a prisoner of war. Perhaps Alexander had already conceived certain plans with regard to Saxony, which we shall understand better at the Congress of Vienna.

After Leipsic.

After the battle of Leipsic, Napoleon with about ninety thousand men, exhausted and hungry, retreated to Erfurt. The allies, also very tired, refrained from pursuit. They were, moreover, not without compassion. Alexander could not altogether forget his once ardent friendship, and Austria, no

doubt, exercised an influence in favor of the fallen son-in-law.

Erfurt is about forty miles from Leipsic. Yet here Napoleon rested thirty hours, and enjoyed what he so much needed, a night's sleep. His sojourn, however, was soon terminated by bad news. The members of the Rhenish Confederation were deserting, and the allies were at length taking measures to cut off his retreat. He, therefore, continued his flight. Till now he had been calm and collected, but a change came over him. His soldiers began to look upon him as their destroyer and the destroyer of their country, and their gloomy glances were not calculated to raise his spirits.

Battle of Hanau, Oct. 30, 1813.

At Hanau (Hesse-Cassel), he found an Austrian and Bavarian army, under the Bavarian General Wrede (Bavaria had deserted to the allies, October 18), drawn up to oppose his advance to Frankfort and the Rhine. He cut his way through these troops, found no subsequent opposition, and arrived in Paris with the miserable wreck of that army which, three hundred and fifty thousand in number, he had led into the field only six months before. He immediately issued orders for a new campaign.

Napoleon returns to Paris.

Last struggle, 1813.

Blücher, Gneisenau, and other high officers pressed for an energetic continuance of the war, but Francis and Alexander objected. A new offer of peace was dispatched; France to remain within her natural boundaries,—namely, the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the Rhine, and the independence to be acknowledged of Germany, Holland, Italy, and Spain. Napoleon returned an evasive answer, and the allies determined to cross the Rhine.

We must pass rapidly over this interval (1814). The allies advanced slowly. There were no proper arrangements for maintaining their armies. They were bearding the lion in his den. Nevertheless, at first, the French were beaten (Brienne, January 9, 1814). Again, La Rothière, February 1. New hopes of success, and the scent of new battles, seemed to awaken the genius of Napoleon, who again aroused, by his wonderful deeds, the confidence and ardor of the army. He suddenly darted, like an eagle, upon Blücher's division, and defeated him. Between February 10 and February 18 (at Champaubert, Montmiral, Château-Thierry, Vauchamps, Nangis, and Montereau), he fought six battles, each a victory, recalling Campo Formio. Not only Blücher was beaten, but the whole great allied army was obliged to retreat to Troyes.

The enemy had approached very near Paris. But Napoleon once more stood on a vantage-ground. The allies feared a rising of the people. New negotiations were commenced.

Congress of Chatillon, Feb. 3—March, 1814.

A Peace Congress assembled at Chatillon (February 3), in which were represented Austria, Russia, Prussia (William von Humboldt); England (Lords Aberdeen, Cathcart, and Stuart); France (Coulaincourt). Very advantageous offers were made. Napoleon refused. The Congress broke up. Another opportunity had thus been offered to maintain himself on the throne. But his last victories had intoxicated him. He avoided a clear answer to the proposals of the allies. The moment passed. Dispatches from the Prince-regent of England (George IV.) earnestly urged the necessity of restoring the Bourbons. The negotiations were broken off.

Napoleon had now extinguished his last hope. Imme-

diately on the breaking up of the Congress of Chatillon, Russia, England, Austria, Prussia entered into a new alliance, offensive and defensive, determined to march upon Paris, and place a Bourbon upon the throne. A last victory was obtained by Napoleon at Rheims, March 13, 1814, but a battle at Arcis, on the Aube (March 20, 21), also claimed as a victory, exhausted his army, and compelled him to give up the game. The allies reached Paris. The defense of the city had been intrusted to Joseph, Marmont, and Mortier. There was a battle around the city. The height of Montmartre was stormed, Marmont capitulated. Marie Louise left the city. Joseph escaped as he best could. While the allies were storming the height of Montmartre, the people of Paris were quietly sipping their coffee on the *Boulevard des Italiens.* "*Le Moniteur* of that day," says an eye-witness of these scenes, "was published as usual. Not the least notice was taken of the war, or the army. Four columns were occupied by an article on the dramatic works of Denis, and three with a dissertation on the ancient City of Troy." This did not look much like a rising of the people.

Treaty of Chaumont, March 15, 1814.

Napoleon was astonished at the rapid advance of the allies upon Paris. He did not know it till the 27th March, and then he would not believe it. The ease with which the enemy took possession of this great metropolis, was to him unintelligible and incredible. He hurried on toward Fontainebleau in advance of his army, reached that château on his smoking horse at midnight, instantly ordered a carriage, and drove toward Paris. He thought his appearance would, as usual, change the current of events. Near Paris he met his General Belliard at the head of

Napoleon abdicates, April 11, 1814.

a column of cavalry, wearied and dejected. Marmont had capitulated. Paris was occupied by the allies. On being convinced of the truth, Napoleon regained his composure. It was not yet day-break. He immediately retired to rest.

The allies enter Paris, March 31.

The allies made their public entry into the city at the head of fifty thousand troops, horse, foot, and artillery, accompanied by an imposing crowd of princes, ambassadors, and generals. The procession could scarcely advance through the thronged streets. The noble appearance of the sovereigns; their graceful, affable greetings to the right and left, astonished and charmed the Parisians. All hearts were relieved and impressed. Shouts of welcome increased to enthusiastic plaudits, until, at last, from the deafening acclamations, one might have supposed the French were receiving their own Emperor returning in triumph after having laid Moscow, Berlin, and London in ruins. The white cockade of the Bourbons began now to appear. From the windows and balconies, ladies tore their dresses, made cockades, and threw them in among the crowd. Some of the National Guard removed the tricolor from their caps, and substituted the white cockade. All the royalists had naturally crowded to Paris. Talleyrand did every thing. He procured from Alexander a proclamation, declaring that he would no longer treat with Napoleon or any of his family. He had this document instantly printed and distributed by thousands. The printer was *Michaud*, and affixed to his name were the momentous words, for the first time seen for so many years, "*Printer to the King.*"

At nine o'clock in the evening, a deputation of the royalist party waited on the Emperor Alexander at the hotel

of Talleyrand. The Czar had retired to rest, but Count Nesselrode received them with these words: "I have just left the Emperor. It is in his name that I speak. Louis XVIII. will immediately ascend the throne." This decided the matter.

Restoration of Louis XVIII.

After interesting negotiations and events, Napoleon drew up and signed his abdication in favor of his son, the King of Rome. (This abdication was subsequently refused by the allies.) He had till then been composed, but having appended his name to the document, he threw himself on a sofa, covered his face with his hand for some minutes, and then started up, and with such a look as his face might have worn at Lodi, he cried: "Comrades, let us take the field again;" but it was too late.

On reading his abdication, Alexander expressed surprise that he should have stipulated nothing for himself. He added: "But I have been his friend, and I will continue to be his advocate. I propose his imperial title and six million francs a year, with Elba or some other island."

On the 11th of April, Napoleon, at Fontainebleau, signed his second abdication, absolutely renouncing, for himself and his heirs, the thrones of France and Italy. After that act, he underwent a violent paroxysm of illness. It is believed he had taken poison. He soon recovered, however, and the proposition of Alexander having been accepted by the other allies, he prepared to set out for Elba.

Before departing, he made a short address to his higher officers. He then desired that the remains of his Imperial Guard might be drawn up in the court-yard of the château. He advanced to them on horseback. Tears dropped from his eyes as he dismounted in their midst,

Napoleon bids farewell to his army, April 20, 1814.

and sobs were heard among his old faithful grenadiers. After some remarks, he added: "Do not lament my fate. Be faithful to your new sovereign. I can not embrace you all. But" (taking the commanding officer in his arms) "I embrace your general. Bring me the eagle. Beloved eagle! May the kisses I bestow upon thee long resound in the hearts of the brave. Farewell, my brave companions! Farewell, my children! Surround me once more! Farewell! Farewell!" He then placed himself in his carriage, and drove rapidly away.

Journey to Elba, April 20, 1814.

Napoleon immediately commenced his journey to Elba. He was attended by four commissioners, one from each of the allied powers (Austria, Russia, Prussia, England). At about the same time, the four hundred and fifty infantry and one hundred and fifty cavalry of the Imperial Guard, all volunteers, marched toward Elba to undertake their new duty. Napoleon was to embark at Frejus. In the northern provinces he was respectfully and even sympathetically received. But as he passed south, where he had never been popular, the crowds who gathered to see him began to show an unfriendly feeling, and at last even greeted him with hooting and threats. He therefore disguised himself in an Austrian uniform, but reached Frejus dressed as a courier, on the box with the coachman. An English frigate bore him to Elba. All the officers and men on board fell in love with him, of course. His plain, affable manners, and particularly the enthusiastic admiration he expressed for the English character and nation, won all hearts. High and low said he was "*a splendid fellow*," and when, on landing, he distributed two hundred louis d'or among the sailors, they gave him three cheers; and one old tarpaulin cried out: "*Long life to your honor, and better luck next*

time!" At noon, he made his public entry into the town of Porto Ferraio, amid the acclamations of the inhabitants, delighted to have such a distinguished sovereign. He immediately mounted a horse and rode out to reconnoiter. From the top of the hill over the town, he got a view of the entire island. "*It must be confessed,*" he said, "*my empire is rather small!*" His first step was to send out and annex a little barren, uninhabited rock, lying at some distance from the shore.

Here the curtain appeared to fall upon the last act of the great drama which had agitated the world for the last thirty years. Napoleon was regarded as an incarnation of a devilish principle, uniting the worst features of revolution with the worst features of despotism; a monstrous serpent, under the name of liberty, crushing in its coils all freedom, political and individual. The whole world rejoiced. The Temple of Janus was closed at last, and many hoped, forever. It is interesting to read the expressions of hatred and thanksgiving in the journal of Countess Voss, Mistress of Ceremony (Oberhofmeisterin) of Queen Louisa, who resided for sixty-nine years at the Prussian court:

Journal of Countess Voss.

June 16, 1807.—A frightful day. Benningsen has been defeated at Friedland.

June 23, 1807.—Benningsen has agreed to a four weeks' armistice (instead of carrying on the war). Merciful God, wilt Thou never put an end to the misery inflicted upon us by this monster (Napoleon)?

June 27, 1807.—The king is indignant. Napoleon has commanded him to dismiss Hardenberg.

August 5, 1807 (after the Treaty of Tilsit).—The Marshal Berthier occupies the queen's rooms at Berlin. That is a little too much.

September 22, 1807.—In the Königsberg theater an actor appeared on the stage in the French uniform; the Prussian officers present would not permit him to remain, and the curtain fell. Daru reported the incident to Napoleon in Paris, who was furious, and has written to demand the punishment of the officers. What slavery! O, would God only free us from this tyrant!

October 11, 1807.—Very bad news from Berlin. The French are selling every thing they can lay hold of in the royal porcelain manufactory. Soult is more insolent and shameless than ever. General Victor has absolutely insisted on living in the palace. The castellan packed up and sent off every thing he possibly could, so

that the general might be deterred by finding the apartments so empty and desolate.

November 3, 1807.—News worse and worse. The infamous French have determined to demolish all the fortresses, and to sell every thing they can find belonging to the government.

November 4, 1807.—I found the queen to-day so broken-down and despairing, that I determined to write myself to Napoleon. I showed the draft to Stein, who said, "Yes: try it."

November 25, 1807.—The French are determined to remain in Berlin; in this case, the unfortunate queen must await her confinement here (in Memel) or in Königsberg and remain the whole winter. A courier came to-day from Paris, and brought me an answer from Napoleon. He promises that the troops shall leave the Northern provinces; the queen, he says, can then await her confinement in Königsberg; it is not necessary that she should go to Berlin. He is an unprincipled scoundrel, and this scourge, this vile wretch, is allowed thus continually to trample on us and torment us.

January 16, 1808.—Everywhere as we came, we saw the ruins of the villages burned by the French.

March 22, 1808.—The news always more terrible. Every thing depends upon the arbitrary humor of Napoleon. He is furious at the refusal of the (Russian) Princess Katherine to marry him. O, if Providence would only put an end to the criminal life of this abominable Corsican. He is filled only with covetousness, cruelty, and an unquenchable thirst to overthrow and subject everybody to his will.

June 1, 1808.—To-day Prince August left us to visit the battle-fields of Eylau and Friedland. These battles would have saved us if the abominable, false Benningsen had not willed it otherwise.

[Without pretending to any positive information on the point, the writer would suggest that not Benningsen but Alexander had begun to relax in his friendship for Prussia, and to draw near to the conquering Napoleon. If so, he was afterward justly punished.]

October 9, 1808.—I fear more and more that the artful flatteries of Napoleon and the continued intercourse with Alexander will work very unfavorably for our unhappy cause.

May 20, 1812.—*(See Vol. II., p. 686.)*—They say Napoleon is in Dresden, and has notified the King of Saxony that if he did not return to the city within twenty-four hours, he would dethrone him and appoint another king.

April 10, 1814.—*(See Vol. II., p. 726.)*—Splendid news! The king and Emperor Alexander really in Paris. The French Senate came out to welcome them. The whole street population cried: "*A bas Bonaparte! vivent les allies!*" We were all beside ourselves with joy, rapture, and ecstasy. We all fell on each other's neck and wept for joy.

Here ends the journal of Countess Voss. She died, December 31, 1814, while Napoleon was still at Elba. What would she have written had she lived a few months longer; had she received the news that Napoleon was again on his throne at the head of an army of two hundred thousand men?

CHAPTER XVII.

FALL OF NAPOLEON.

CONGRESS OF VIENNA — THE HUNDRED DAYS — NAPOLEON'S FINAL FALL.

AT the fall of Napoleon, Europe resembled a city shaken down by an earthquake. The Congress of Vienna was convoked by the Great Powers to rebuild it. It consisted of six sovereigns and four hundred and fifty representatives, appointed by the powers which had formed the coalition against France. The people had nothing to do with it. Even the princes of the minor German States were at first excluded, but afterward admitted to vote on some of the questions. It was the work of the princes alone, and chiefly of the highest. It was the answer of the European sovereigns to the French Revolution and to Napoleonism. It sat seven months and a half, from November 1, 1814, to June 11, 1815. The Emperor Alexander, the Emperor Francis, King Frederic William III., the Kings of Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Denmark personally assisted. Among the representatives of the Great Powers were Prince Metternich for Austria, Count Nesselrode for Russia, Lord Castlereigh, and afterward the Duke of Wellington, for England; Prince Hardenberg and William von Humboldt for Prussia; Prince Talleyrand for France. Many royal personages were present. The smallest German States, and even many of the Imperial cities, were represented.

Murat, still in precarious possession of the throne of Naples, sent a plenipotentiary, and the King of Saxony another, but they were not admitted. Every European State, even mediatized States, were represented, either in the Congress or by informal agents, in Vienna.

The arrival of Alexander and Frederic William (September 27, 1814) was marked by every possible display of costly hospitality. Francis, surrounded by all the dukes and princes of his family and court, went out to meet them at the head of his troops. In the evening, the city, at an expense of two million thalers, was illuminated with a fairy splendor, declared to be without parallel.

Vienna during the Congress.

Vienna at this moment was the center of the world. Thousands of distinguished persons from other European States streamed into the city. For the entertainment of his guests, Francis spent thirty million gulden (the money, on the whole, was not badly invested). Amusements, *fêtes*, public and private, followed without intermission. Royal balls, dinners, breakfasts, suppers, *soirées*, masquerades, concerts, theaters, opera, *tableaux vivants*, fire-works, carnivals, parades, military maneuvers, *fêtes* for the people, carousals, pleasure parties on the Danube; and, in the winter, hunts, races, sleighing, and skating.

Stein.

The great Prussian statesman, Stein, strange to say, had not been appointed member of the Congress; but, with the native nobleness of his character, he came to Vienna, and labored for his country and Europe. He addressed a memoir to Alexander, proposing a plan of the debates. He advised that the subjects to be discussed should be divided into two classes: I. Germany without Europe; and, II. Europe without Germany. He asked that a separate committee

should be appointed for each of these subjects, and particularly that France should be excluded from the debates concerning Germany. Lastly, he proposed that the nations, *i. e.*, the people of Europe, should be represented in this Congress as well as the princes. This plan was accepted in part. The separate committees were appointed, and it was decided that France should be excluded from the German debates; but the right of the nations to speak was not acknowledged. On the contrary, there was almost entire unanimity upon three points: The principle of legitimacy was to be maintained; the thrones were to be restored to the sovereigns from whom they had been taken, or to their successors; and the republican constitutions were, as far as possible, to be suppressed. The idea of enlightened men, like William von Humboldt, Stein, the Crown-prince of Würtemberg, etc., of reconstructing Europe with reforms suggested by experience, and adapted to the changes which had taken place, was rejected. The river had overflowed its banks, but no wise arrangements were made against future inundations. The boiler of the locomotive had exploded. They substituted another old-fashioned boiler, destined, of course, to be soon filled again with steam, but without any of the valves necessary to secure against a new explosion.

As the debates proceeded, General Gneisenau wrote a letter, from which the following is an extract: "Alexander spoils every thing by his magnanimity toward France. The cunning Metternich has no noble aims."

Talleyrand.

Report declares that Talleyrand had accepted three hundred thousand ducats from Ferdinand, King of the Two Sicilies, to work for his restoration, and three hundred thousand ducats from

Murat, to retain him on the same throne. The presence of Talleyrand in the Congress was justly regarded with distrust by Germany, and particularly by Prussia. France, just conquered with such sacrifices on the part of the allies, re-appeared in his person among the conquerors. The Germans saw with displeasure that, while Stein had no seat, Talleyrand had a decisive influence. They remembered how remorselessly, at the Congress of Rastadt, he had cut up the German Empire. Notwithstanding a stipulation in the Treaty of Paris that France should be excluded from the debates on the division of territories, and notwithstanding the rule adopted by the Congress itself that France should take no part in the debates on German affairs, Talleyrand secured for himself not only a seat and a vote, but almost a veto. His work in the Congress appears wonderful for successful duplicity. He knew how to discover and defeat the intrigues of others, to bring the bitterest enemies together, and to fan a spark into a flame between the truest friends. While the whole Congress sometimes suffered itself to be led by him, he was, without suspicion on their part, using one half of the members against the other half. The secret treaty, hereafter to be mentioned, which he planned and concluded between France, Austria, and England against Russia and Prussia, is an example.

Metternich.

From the Congress of Vienna to the Revolutions of 1848 (nearly forty years), Metternich was the real Emperor of Austria, and almost of Europe.* In the Congress he worked in the same direction as Talleyrand, against Germany, against Prussia, against the people. His spirit seemed to hang in the air, and cast a shadow over the whole continent. He

* Francis died in Vienna, March, 1835.

treated every attempt at reform as a crime, and put down every national movement with powder and ball. He died at Vienna, 1859. In private life, amiable, polished, benevolent, genial, and fascinating; he was what is called a perfect "gentleman of the old school," and very handsome in face and form. Ladies found him irresistible, and even gentlemen, and bitter opponents, when in personal intercourse, if not converted by his arguments, were bewitched by his charming manners. Some considered him a mere superficial man of pleasure, a cold, calculating, even shallow, and timid statesman. Stein declared him incapable of a manly decision, and thought his fame rested only on labors of others, and particularly of his secretary, Gentz.

Gentz.

At the Congress of Vienna, Gentz was fifty years of age. A steady opponent of liberal institutions, he was not only the secretary, but the confidential friend of Metternich. Many thought that while Metternich held Europe in leading strings, Gentz held Metternich; while Gentz was generally called the sub-Metternich, Metternich ought to have been called the sub-Gentz.

These three men, Talleyrand, Gentz, and Metternich, have done much to bring on the revolutions which have agitated Europe, from their day to ours. Gentz was appointed first secretary of the Vienna Congress. He was present at every debate. He sat even in the most secret meetings of the monarchs. He had his word to say in every European question. He made the drafts of resolutions, and his skillful pen knew how to shape the paragraph to suit his purpose. In his last years he defended himself against the charge of having worked in the interest of absolutism: "I have had the rare honor," so

he wrote, "to hold the pen for six Congresses of plenipotentiaries (in Vienna, Aix-la-Chapelle, Carlsbad, Troppau, Laibach, and Verona). The world has ascribed to me a greater influence over their decisions than I really exercised, therefore I am anathematized as an instrument of absolutism." It may be that Gentz was sincere in repelling the charge; but men are often the opposite of what they think themselves. The miser gives a farthing with a conviction that he is a spendthrift.

Germany.

The second Germany was re-erected in the form of a confederation, not of three hundred, but of thirty-eight independent States. As both Prussia and Bavaria were too powerful to take a subordinate position under an emperor, and Austria did not wish an emperor over her, it was impossible to resuscitate the old Empire. Indeed, Francis had determined not to accept again the Imperial crown. Why? Because he knew that the Great Powers were interested in preventing a strong united Germany.

Reactionary Constitution of Germany.

The Constitution of the United States of America commences as follows: "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution."

After the Proclamation of Kalisch, and a not dissimilar proclamation which the Emperor Francis had issued in 1809, the people expected to be also invited, in co-operation with the princes, at least to assist in reconstructing their country. But the first clause of the new Act of Confederation was as follows:

"The sovereigns and free cities of Germany, including their Majesties the Emperor of Austria and the Kings of Prussia, Denmark, and the Netherlands (the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia for the whole of their territories, formerly belonging to the German Empire; the King of Denmark for Holstein, and the King of the Netherlands for Luxemburg), agree to unite to form an eternal league, to be denominated the German Confederation." A Federal Diet (the Bundestag), consisting of the representatives of the different States, presided over by Austria, sitting at Frankfort-on-the-Main, were to administer the affairs. The thirteenth article of the Act of the Confederation ran as follows: "In all the States of the Confederation a constitution (Landständische Verfassung), based on a representation by estates, shall be introduced." But no guarantee was given as to the time of granting such constitution, nor as to the real nature of it.

This, then, was the new Germany. This was what the people had gained by all their sufferings and efforts. This was the "*lebenskräftige Verjüngung und Einheit.*" They had re-seated the sovereigns on their thrones, and this was the reward. They had not been consulted in the construction of the new Germany. They regarded it from the beginning with distrust and dislike. They had no faith in the modern republicanism which the guillotine of the Revolution and the sword of Napoleon had forced upon so many States. They did not ask a republic; but they asked a Germany, in which they were fairly represented. They regarded the Confederation as a league of sovereigns, with interests separate from theirs. They looked with envy upon England and the United States of America. Here rose the first thought of the Revolution of 1848.

In many respects, the Confederation began badly. Inconveniences resulted from the number of independent States, each with its own tariff and revenue laws. Each petty government hoped for an advantage by vexatious custom-house restrictions, and instead of a harmonious union of friendly interests, they formed a loose bundle of hostile rivalries. The two large powers, Austria and Prussia, were, one Catholic and retrograde, the other Protestant and progressive; each aiming at the exclusion of the other from influence. While Austria and Prussia were thus pulling different ways, the small States wanted only an opportunity to betray either or both, as had been the case (1806) in the Confederation of the Rhine, and was subsequently in the German war of 1866. For while the two large powers were constantly endeavoring to weaken each other, the smaller States felt themselves in danger of gravitating into the larger. They resembled little fishes swimming in a lake in company with two whales. In fact, a number of small States belonging to the Empire had been incorporated into Prussia by the Congress of Vienna.

Russia.

Alexander, having done so much to overthrow Napoleon, now demanded the whole of Poland. He thus asked a considerable territory belonging to his friend and ally, Frederic William. England, on account of her Asiatic possessions, jealous of Russia, opposed this extension of her rival on the European side; but Alexander had already occupied the Duchy of Warsaw, and authorized his brother Constantine to publish a proclamation, announcing the re-erection of Poland into an independent kingdom. The success of this plan would have deprived Prussia of Posen, brought Russia to the Oder, and almost to the Spree, and

given her a greatly increased preponderance in European affairs. Alexander had obtained the consent of Frederic William, by guaranteeing the whole of Saxony to Prussia. On the pledge of Alexander, Frederic William, regarding this arrangement as concluded, irrevocably abandoned other important claims. But Talleyrand had negotiated a treaty (at first secret) between France, Austria, and England, by which the parties bound themselves to defeat Alexander's plan, *in case of need, by military force.* This was the reason why the Great Powers kept their armies together so long that Napoleon found them in the field when he escaped from Elba. Had they been disbanded, his attempt might have been successful. The treaty, if openly made, would have been natural enough; but the secrecy of it enabled the parties to use it as an instrument against Prussia. Considering the whole of Saxony absolutely secure to her, Prussia gave up to Bavaria the old Prussian provinces of Baireuth and Anspach, a valuable footing in South Germany, and abandoned to Hanover (England) her old province of East Friesland, of inestimable worth as an access to the North Sea. There was here danger of another European war; but the parties to the treaty of January 3 offered, and Alexander accepted, conditions by which Prussia, in this matter, was sacrificed. Alexander violated his pledge to Frederic William, and withdrew his promised support. Instead of the whole Kingdom of Saxony, Prussia received only the poorer and smaller northern part, while the rest, with the cities of Dresden and Leipsic, was given back to Frederic Augustus.

Russia came strengthened out of the contest. Besides the Duchy of Warsaw, and instead of the whole of Poland, she received Finland, Bessarabia, and a part of

Moldavia. Upon the Kingdom of Warsaw, Alexander bestowed a liberal constitution and a vice-king, his brother Constantine, a man of iron. Under this gloomy and severe prince, the liberal constitution did not prevent disastrous Polish revolutions.

Prussia.

We have seen how Prussia was deprived of Anspach, Baireuth, and East Friesland. Her territory was increased in extent, but not in compactness. Her nine provinces did not, like those of Austria, form one geographical whole, but lay in fragments at a distance from each other. Between her six eastern provinces and the two on the Rhine, nearly all the small German States intervened. Hanover, a dependency of a foreign power, had been raised to a kingdom, and cut off connection with the North Sea. The danger to which Prussia was thus exposed was increased by the refusal of the Congress to restore Alsace and Lorraine, which, it will be remembered, Louis XIV. had forcibly wrested from the Empire. Talleyrand, no doubt, worked against this restoration, which would have weakened France on her south-eastern Prussian frontier, as these provinces, protruding an angle of French territory, like a wedge, into the interior of Germany, separated the Prussian-Rhenish province from Rhenish Bavaria and the Grand Duchy of Baden. Prussia, says Menzel, was thus stationed where there was danger (as at this point of the French frontier), and kept back where there was advantage (from the North Sea coast).*

I. Prussia received back again all the territory Napoleon had taken from her by the Treaty of Tilsit. II. The

* In allusion to this conformation of the French frontier, Bismarck, in one of his speeches, said: "It was necessary to break the nose of France, which thus intruded itself into its neighbor's affairs."

province of Posen, with Danzig, etc. III. Half the Kingdom of Saxony. IV. The province of Westphalia and the Rhenish province, with the river Rhine. V. Swedish Pomerania, with the island Rügen. France never forgave Prussia for taking back the Rhenish province and Westphalia. She wanted, and still wants (she has had, and she will one day get it again, if she can) the German and Belgian territory west of the Rhine.

Austria.

Austria took the lion's share. She received back from Russia, East Galicia; from Bavaria, Tyrol and Salzburg, all North-east Italy, between Switzerland, Sardinia, the Po, and the Adriatic, under the title Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom. The latter province was an equivalent for the cession of Belgium, and very important as a military position. In it were included the four celebrated fortresses: Verona, Peschiera, Mantua, and Legnano. To these were added Dalmatia and the Illyrian provinces, the Duchies of Carinthia, Carniola, and Istria, with the town and territory of Trieste, in order to *arrondir* her dominions, and to give her more weight in the new Germany. More than this, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, the Duchies of Parma, Modena, and Piacenza were awarded to members of the Austrian royal family. The Emperor Francis had thus received a greater extent of territory than any one of his Austrian predecessors had possessed. He entered the Germanic Confederation with his German provinces only. But these great additions to his Empire were not in reality a source of strength. The heterogeneous nationalities could not be governed under a peaceful system, and the attempt to play them against each other was very dangerous. Lombardy was not a happy gift, and the so much prized Italy was only a snare.

Saxony.

After the battle of Leipsic, Saxony had been for a period governed by Russian and Prussian commissioners. The plan of Russia and Prussia to transform her from a kingdom into a Prussian province having failed, Frederic Augustus was permitted to remount his throne; but his kingdom was diminished by half his territory, and the loss of nearly a million subjects; besides the Duchy of Warsaw, which went to Russia.

The Netherlands, Holland, and Belgium.

In 1548, the Netherlands fell, by inheritance, to Charles V., who united seventeen provinces into a circle of the German Empire. On the abdication of Charles (1555), he handed over the Netherlands to his son, Philip II., in such a way that, by the right of primogeniture, they were to remain united to the Spanish monarchy. The attempt of Philip II. to crush the Reformation drove part of the Netherlands to a revolution, which resulted in the republic of the seven united provinces. The ten southern provinces of Flanders remained under the Spanish dominion, and adhered to the Roman Catholic faith (Kingdom of Belgium). By the Treaty of Utrecht (April 11, 1713), the Roman Catholic provinces were handed over to the House of Austria. In 1794, under the French Republic, the conquests of Generals Pichegru and Jourdan entirely terminated the dominion of Austria in the Netherlands, and the Batavian Republic was proclaimed at about the time of Danton's execution. In 1806, Napoleon transformed the Batavian Republic into a French Kingdom, and placed his brother Louis on the throne. But Louis was too little of a sycophant, and too much of a king and a gentleman in his government, so he was deposed, and not only Belgium and Holland, but the whole German

coast on the North Sea, incorporated into France. The Prince Regent of England, afterward George IV., had the intention to marry his daughter Charlotte to William I., Prince of Orange, and proposed that Belgium and Holland should be united into one kingdom, and given to his intended son-in-law.

Sweden, Norway, and Denmark.

From 1397, Denmark had stood at the head of the Scandinavian Kingdom (Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and the island of Iceland). Sweden had achieved her independence; but Norway continued her connection with Denmark till the downfall of Napoleon, and suffered from his fall. By the Congress of Vienna, Norway was taken from her, and given to Sweden as a compensation for services rendered in the war. Schleswig-Holstein (German), with the Duchy of Lauenburg, was annexed to Denmark, which, for the provinces, became a member of the new Germanic Confederation. The Danish Kingdom was thus reduced to a very small territory, and to a weak condition. She had contracted a heavy debt in her alliance with Napoleon, and we shall presently see, in the history of Schleswig-Holstein, what disastrous endeavors she made to remedy the evil. Bernadotte, King of Sweden, was the only one of Napoleon's generals who received a throne and founded a dynasty.

Spain.

Ferdinand VII., King of Spain, whom Napoleon had compelled to abdicate, and whom he had locked up five years in Valencay, returned to Madrid, with the resolution to restore absolutism and Jesuitism by means of the Holy Inquisition.

Switzerland.

To Switzerland the Great Powers guaranteed perpetual neutrality. Napoleon had taken from her Valais, Geneva, and Neufchâtel. These were restored.

Neufchâtel had been bestowed by Napoleon upon his General Berthier, with the title of Prince of Neufchâtel. The Congress reconstituted it one of the cantons of the Swiss Confederation, but at the same time revived its old connection with the King of Prussia. (See Vol. I., page 474.)

Italy.

In Italy, Napoleon's political constructions fell like card houses. The Italian peninsula, with all its hopes and yearnings after unity and independence, was handed back to servitude and placed under the sword, if not actually under the scepter of Austria.

Sardinia.

Sardinia was restored to Victor Emmanuel I., one of the most narrow-minded and reactionary of the princes.

Naples.

Naples was again taken possession of by Ferdinand, a bloody-minded despot. In 1799, the French Directory had converted it into what they called the Parthenopean Republic. Napoleon had reconstructed it into a kingdom, first, for his brother, Joseph, then for Murat.

Papal States.

Pope Pius VII. made a solemn triumphal *entrée* into Rome.

France.

Russia, Austria, and England desired to maintain France as a strong power, and Talleyrand in this gladly and skillfully acted as their agent. The conditions, it is true, appeared humiliating, namely: France to restore all the paintings and other works of art; to render back all the territories annexed by Napoleon; to pay seven hundred million francs contributions; to cede several fortresses, etc. But Talleyrand well knew that these conditions, however heavy, weighed comparatively little against the advantages he had ob-

tained. The French artists sent to him in despair, begging that the works of art might not be returned. He only laughed at them. He was willing enough to give a Madonna, although by Raphael, or an Apollo, even the Apollo Belvedere, for an opulent province or an impregnable fortress. The greatest painting in the world, Raphael's Transfiguration, he would have thought a low price for Alsace-Lorraine. Suppose France had been reduced to a second-rate power, as she might easily have been. This Talleyrand prevented, and while the other nations were triumphing in the recovery of their rich treasures of art, he secured to his country her old frontier of 1792, with seventeen fortresses, among them Metz and Strassburg. He thus armed her for future combats.

Turkey and Greece.

The Ottoman Empire, whose foundations in Europe were supposed to be absolutely decayed; which rested only on artificial scaffolding, erected by the European powers because they were too jealous of each other to agree upon a division of it, strange to say, this edifice was not materially changed by the heavy storms of revolutions and wars which had swept over Europe. Her time was not yet fulfilled. Turkey was left to rule, as she had ruled before, arbitrarily and barbarously, over her Christian population.

While the new Europe was thus rising under the genius of reaction, the world and the Congress were suddenly astounded by news from the island of Elba. Napoleon had escaped, re-landed in France, was marching with a triumphant and ever increasing army to Paris, and had already resumed the reins of government as Emperor. The Congress had been sitting four months and a half when interrupted by this intelligence.

Napoleon escapes from Elba, March 1, 1815.

Napoleon had soon perceived the possibility of regaining power. He had been kept constantly informed of what was passing in Paris and Vienna. He knew the Congress was in danger of dissolution and war on the question of Poland and Saxony; and that the French army and nation were disgusted with the Bourbons. Louis XVIII. had dated his first act in the twentieth year of his reign; thus proclaiming that every reform during the Revolution and Napoleon wars, all the acquisitions of confiscated property (a large portion held by the peasants), all rights accorded to the people, were invalid. The cry had gone forth: The Bourbons have learned nothing and forgotten nothing. Under the influence of Artois, the reactionary measures were increasing. The ecclesiastical party and the Jesuits threatened to take possession of the government. The emigrants thronged back to France; impoverished, revengeful, loudly demanding the re-establishment of their privileges and the restoration of their property. Every effort was used to obliterate the last trace of the Empire. The eagle, the tricolor, the names of the old regiments were disappearing. In short, France was drifting back again into the darkness, bigotry, and slavery of the middle ages. The nation beheld these changes with alarm, not quieted by the proceedings of the Congress. In the midst of this discontent, beween one hundred thousand and one hundred and fifty thousand old soldiers of Napoleon, released war prisoners from Russia, Prussia, and Austria, suddenly re-entered France. Many of these had followed Napoleon in his glorious campaigns, and they now learned with indignation that their little corporal was a prisoner, and that a Bourbon had been placed, by foreign armies, on the throne.

King Joseph had retired to Switzerland, whence he secretly communicated to Elba exact accounts. Queen Hortense, under the name of la Duchesse de St. Leu, had taken up her abode in Paris, where she acted as a skillful agent. Her zeal was quickened by the contempt with which the ladies of the Restoration looked down upon the families of the Empire. The haughty Bourbon circles affected not to be able to remember or even pronounce the names of great generals, which, for twenty years, had been so familiar to the world. As the winter of 1815 drew to a close, a circumstance did not escape observers. Hundreds, particularly Napoleon's old soldiers, wore each a violet in his button-hole; and in all the garrisons of France were heard innuendoes of some mysterious personage called "*Father Violet.*" A wide-spread conspiracy of Napoleonists and old Jacobins had been organized to bring the Emperor back in the spring, and this little innocent flower was the symbol of the approaching bloody struggle.

Napoleon thus saw the gate wide open for his return. He had several pretexts. France had violated her treaty obligations. Not one cent of his promised revenue (two million francs) had been paid. He had, moreover, correct information that the Congress of Vienna were considering a proposition to send him prisoner for life to St. Helena. The incompetency of the Bourbons threatened France and Europe with new revolutions. Again, should he reascend the throne, he hoped for the support of Austria. It was not Francis, but Talleyrand, who had restored the Bourbons. Francis had always distrusted them, and on that account kept Murat on the throne of Naples. Neither was Francis anxious to promote the aggrandizement of Prussia. He had, in fact, manifested a certain sympathy

with Napoleon at his downfall, and why should he not gladly see his daughter again on the French throne?

Napoleon conceived and executed his plan with characteristic skill. He had gained the French police, the post-office, and Soult, commander-in-chief of the army. Among other agents were Davoust, Carnot, Maret, and, incredible as it may appear, Fouché.

On the 26th of February, 1815, Sir Neil Campbell, the British agent, residing on the island, being for a day or two absent, Napoleon's sister, who had joined him at Elba, gave a ball. In the midst of the festivities, Napoleon withdrew. A brig (the "Inconstant") and six small craft had been prepared. Napoleon embarked in the middle of a dark night, with four hundred of his guard, one hundred dragoons, and some other soldiers; in all, more than six hundred men. The brig was soon crossed by a French frigate. Napoleon ordered his troops to lie flat on the decks. The frigate gave the usual challenge, which was answered, and the "Inconstant" passed without suspicion. The small Elbese army landed March 1, in a little gulf called the Gulf of Juan, between Antibes and Cannes. For a week the party advanced, sometimes cheered, sometimes gazed on with bewilderment, by gathering crowds. At Gap, forty miles south of Grenoble, a proclamation was distributed, announcing Napoleon's intention to re-ascend the throne; promising the people the undisturbed possession of confiscated property, and all the rights they had acquired by the Revolution. "I have come to free you from the disgraceful yoke of the Bourbons. We have been masters of the world. Traitors have betrayed us. Foreigners have placed our enemies upon the throne. Range yourselves under the banner of your ancient chief. Victory shall march at

the charging step. The eagle shall fly from steeple to steeple to the towers of Notre Dame!"

On the 7th he approached Grenoble. In the vicinity of the fortress he was met by a battalion under Colonel Labedoyère, sent from Grenoble by General Marchand, commander of the fortress, to arrest him. On their approach, Napoleon dismounted and advanced alone. At a distance, behind him, marched one hundred of his guard, their arms reversed. For some moments there was perfect silence, broken at length by Napoleon's voice. He threw open his gray surtout, so as to show the well-known uniform and the star of the Legion of Honor. "*Soldiers! If there be among you one willing to kill his general, his Emperor, let him do it now! Here I am!*" The answer was a simultaneous shout: "*Vive l'Empereur!*" Labedoyère immediately joined with his whole regiment, the first officer of rank who had done so. General Marchand did not follow his example, but the whole garrison went over *en masse*. Napoleon entered Grenoble at the head of ten thousand men. He dismissed Marchand courteously. As he entered the town, amid deafening cheers, the crowd took him from his horse and carried him upon their shoulders into the tavern. From Grenoble to Lyons, about fifty miles, his way was a triumph. Louis had sent Artois, with Macdonald and St. Cyr, to Lyons to take command of the troops. On the afternoon of the 10th, Napoleon arrived. The royal force in the city amounted to eight thousand. As Napoleon approached the bridge of Guillotière, he found it crowded with the troops of Artois; but, as at Grenoble, the moment he showed himself all discipline was at an end. With frenzied cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" the entire royal force went over in a body. Artois, Macdonald, St.

Cyr returned to Paris alone. At Lyons, Napoleon formally assumed the functions of government, and published various Imperial decrees. Lyons, a manufacturing city, hoped, by the revival of the Continental System, to drive the fabrics of England out of the market. Louis set his last hope on Ney, whom he had received into his service, and heaped with honors. Ney solemnly promised to arrest the invader, and started off at the head of ten thousand men. But on the way to Lyons, both he and his troops yielded to the contagion and joined Napoleon. Louis fled from Paris to Ghent, accompanied by Artois, the Duke de Berry, Berthier, Marmont, Macdonald, and others. Napoleon now hastened to Paris. On the way, the enchantment of his name and appearance turned everybody's head. He had left Lyons with twenty-five thousand men, but others continually joined. His old companions in arms flocked around him—Soult, Massena, etc. Towns rendered their homage. Wherever he came, the gates were wide opened; the troops joined. He reached Fontainebleau on the 20th, and repaired immediately to Paris. The tricolor floated over the Tuileries. Queen Hortense and a large, exulting circle waited in the familiar halls; among them (we abstain from adjectives), Fouché. The streets, the garden of the Tuileries, were all day thronged with eager multitudes. Late in the afternoon, a plain, open carriage appeared, surrounded by a few dragoons; the well-known *chapeau!* the gray surtout! "*Napoleon! Le voilà! Vive l'Empereur!*" He was surrounded, forced from the carriage, and borne upon the shoulders of the officers up the steps of the Tuileries. An eye-witness declares that, as he was carried into the saloon, his eyes were closed with a smile of ineffable delight. The eagle had swept on to the towers

of Notre Dame. Napoleon was again Emperor, and thus far without a drop of blood.

Had it not been for Murat and Talleyrand, he might, perhaps, have maintained himself. After the battle of Leipsic, Murat had joined the allies and signed a treaty with Austria (January 11, 1814), by which his kingdom of Naples was guaranteed. He no sooner heard of Napoleon's return from Elba than he suddenly declared war against Austria. Rome was in uproar; the Pope fled. On the 2d of May, 1815, Murat met an Austrian army at Tolentino, near Ancona; was completely routed, and deserted by his own army. He fled to France, and begged an interview with Napoleon; but was haughtily refused and ordered out of France, for his rash enterprise had destroyed all Napoleon's hopes from Austria. Some time after the battle of Waterloo—we here anticipate events—he landed, with two hundred and fifty followers, in the Kingdom of Naples, in the vain hope of regaining his throne. Here he was arrested, tried by court-martial, and instantly shot in one of the rooms of the castle (October 13, 1815). At the execution he was offered a chair, and a handkerchief to bind his eyes. He replied: "I have braved death often enough to face it with my eyes open, and standing." Of course, after his death, Ferdinand I. remounted his throne; and whatever were the faults of Murat, the Neapolitans had soon reason enough to wish him back again.

Murat.

The news of Napoleon's return reached Vienna very late. In our day, it would have been almost immediately known in Vienna, Paris, London, New York, San Francisco, and Bombay. Talleyrand profited by the presence of the sovereigns in Vienna, to procure the publication

of the ban against his old master. The day Napoleon entered Lyons (March 13), the decree was signed by Austria, Russia, Prussia, England, France, Spain, and Sweden. It stated that, by his flight from Elba, "Napoleon had forfeited every civil and political right, and every claim to mercy. He was excluded from all social intercourse. The protection of the laws was withdrawn, and he was given up to public punishment as the enemy of Europe and the disturber of the world." In other words, any one might rob and kill him with impunity.

Napoleon in Paris.

Napoleon soon discovered that he was playing a dangerous game. He addressed dispatches to the Great Powers promising peace. His couriers were not permitted to cross the frontier. He proclaimed anew the charter of Louis XVIII., and abolished, in the colonies, negro slavery and the African slave-trade. But these theatrical measures failed to obtain the confidence of the nation. France shuddered at the prospect of another war. Darker and darker came the news from all quarters. Murat's defeat at Tolentino; gigantic war preparations of the four Great Powers; all the States of the Continent sending contingents; a Spanish army entering the passes of the Pyrenees; Swedes and Danes moving down from the north; a million men advancing toward Paris. These and other reports, true or false, flew like lightning, and spread terror through France.

Napoleon was often gloomy and absent-minded. But he still trusted in his star. He had only to surprise the enemy before they could concentrate, and one thunderbolt, like Austerlitz, would make all right.

At the moment of his escape, the Russian army, over one hundred thousand men, had just commenced their

march homeward. They were at once countermanded. Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia had stipulated each to maintain an army of one hundred and eighty thousand till the conclusion of the war. There were already in the field six hundred thousand, and the contingents rapidly flowing in would soon raise this force to a million. Schwarzenberg was again appointed commander-in-chief.

Forces of the allies.

Napoleon had been able to collect only two hundred thousand men. A considerable part of this force he was obliged to leave in France.

Force of Napoleon.

The Prussian and English armies were in Belgium. Wellington had ninety-four thousand English, Dutch, Belgians, Hanoverians, Brunswickers, Nassauers, and other Germans. One third only were English. Blücher had one hundred and sixteen thousand, principally Prussians. The two armies together were more than two hundred thousand. Why did not Blücher and Wellington unite and await Napoleon, with a superior force? Napoleon was afraid they would do so, and aimed at beating them separately before they could unite. Blücher had undertaken to defend the line of the Meuse. The head-quarters of the English were at Brussels. Wellington had kept to the north (too far from Blücher), from the fear that by some bold stroke Napoleon might cut off his communication with the sea, and with England. A part of his army was at Brussels, a part at Quatrebras. Blücher had eighty thousand men at Ligny, a division at Charleroi, under Lieutenant-general Ziethen, and another at Liège, under Bülow. Thus, not only were the two armies of Wellington and Blücher separated, but each of these two armies was broken into fragments, stationed miles from

Position of Wellington and Blücher in Belgium.

each other. Napoleon, therefore, had good reason to hope that by rapid movements he could beat them in detail. Military authorities* declare that strange mistakes were here committed by all the three great commanders, Schwarzenberg, Wellington, and Napoleon.

Napoleon.

On the 8th of June, Napoleon pushed forward his main force toward Charleroi (Belgium), to surprise the vanguard of the Prussians, under Ziethen. On the 11th, he himself left the Tuileries, saying, as he entered his carriage: "I go to measure myself with Wellington." He advanced to the Belgian frontier with one hundred and thirty thousand men.

Battle of Charleroi.

At day-break (June 16), he attacked the Prussians at Charleroi. Ziethen fought long and obstinately, but yielded at last to overwhelming numbers. He had, however, stood long enough to allow Blücher, at Ligny, nine miles distant, time to make some of his arrangements. Foreboding a defeat, that commander gave his army a rendezvous at Wavre, a village several miles north of Ligny, and nearer Waterloo; so that, even if defeated, he might still be able to re-inforce Wellington in his approaching battle.

Battle of Quatrebras, June 16.

The day Napoleon defeated Ziethen at Charleroi, Ney, with superior numbers, attacked the Anglo-Belgian army at Quatrebras, not far from Ligny. The English were soon strengthened by re-inforcements, under the Generals Picton, Cooke, Allen, Halkett, Maitland, Byng, etc. The struggle was fierce, the loss of life terrible. Of one regiment, eight hundred strong, every man was killed or wounded, except ninety-six soldiers and four officers. The Duke of Brunswick, at the head of his troops (the Black Legion

* Stacke.

of Vengeance), and cheering them on, was among the first killed. The victory, though claimed by the English, was on the side of the French; and would have been more decisive, but for the fact that Ney had misunderstood one of Napoleon's orders, which brought him under the furious displeasure of his master.

Battle of Ligny, June 16, 2:30 P.M.

Blücher, with eighty thousand men at Ligny, had only half made his preparations (Bülow's corps was thirty miles off, at Liège), when Napoleon arrived and immediately attacked. The Prussians, for some time, stood firm; but the French cavalry came upon them in a murderous crash, with irresistible force. The horse of Blücher was shot under him; horse and rider rolled together on the ground under the hoofs of the furious cuirassiers, who swept over them, little suspecting what a prize lay (insensible) beneath their hoofs. Blücher would have been killed or taken prisoner, had not his faithful adjutant, Count Nostitz, remained and saved him. The old hero recovered his senses, and, although bruised and in pain, did not stop to dress his wounds. Mounting another horse, and aided by Gneisenau, he collected his scattered army at Wavre, twelve or fourteen miles nearer Waterloo, and about ten miles from that village. The battle had lasted five hours. The defeat of the Prussians had been disastrous. Napoleon thought them destroyed; but to make assurance doubly sure, sent Grouchy after them with thirty-three thousand men to complete their dispersion, and then to rejoin him at Waterloo.

Napoleon had now regained all his ancient confidence and glory. He immediately dispatched a courier to Paris, announcing three resplendent victories, and the certain success of the campaign. "Ziethen had been cut to

pieces at Charleroi; the English routed at Quatrebras; the Duke of Brunswick killed. Blücher's great army annihilated at Ligny; that general would never be heard of again; and the wreck of Wellington's army, already in the jaws of ruin, waited at Waterloo the final blow."

Victory had, indeed, marched at the charging step, and the eagle seemed flying from steeple to steeple to the towers of Berlin and Moscow.

Wellington now perceived that he was to measure swords with Napoleon himself. On sending to Blücher, at Wavre, inquiring if he could re-inforce him with one corps, Blücher replied: "I leave a single corps to keep Grouchy at bay, and come to you directly with my whole army."

June 17.

On the 17th there was no fighting. Napoleon remained at Ligny to rest his men. In the afternoon he advanced toward Waterloo, with no other fear than that Wellington would defer the battle till joined by the Russians and Austrians. When, reaching the height of Belle Alliance, he saw Wellington's army drawn up in battle array, he triumphantly exclaimed: "At last I have these English in my grasp!" At about noon on the 17th, a heavy deluge of rain began to fall, and continued till the next morning at day-break. The fields were flooded; the muddy roads sometimes nearly under water. Late in the evening, the vanguard of Napoleon reached the height of La Belle Alliance.

Battle of Waterloo, June 18, 1815.

By day-break of the 18th, the heavens had cleared, and the sun rose with all the splendor of Austerlitz; although afterward the day became cloudy and gusty. The two armies were drawn up in full view of each other.

Wellington's force waited upon an elevated ground, separated from the French by a gentle depression of the surface. They were disposed in three parallel lines, about one mile and a half in length; the whole forming a crescent, the convex side toward the enemy. The elevation on which they stood sunk, immediately behind their position, so that a number of regiments were placed out of sight of the enemy, and sheltered from the balls. Behind this army was the great forest of Soignies; behind Soignies, ten miles distant from Waterloo, the city of Brussels. The men had bivouacked all night in torrents of rain, but had, nevertheless, enjoyed some hours' sleep. It was not Wellington's plan to attack, but to hold his position till the arrival of Blücher. He gave his men the parole: "*The Prussians or the night!*" (That is: they were to remain the whole day if Blücher did not come before evening.) In the slight valley between the two armies, and several hundred yards in advance of the English lines, were three strong foreposts of the English; before their right wing, the Château Hougoumont, or Goumont, in a park full of old trees and surrounded by high walls; before their center, the farm-house La Haye Sainte; before their left wing, the houses La Haye and Papelotte. The village Mont St. Jean, in their center, was strongly fortified; and here, during many hours of the battle, Wellington, in a brown surtout, under an elm, upon a slight elevation commanding a view of the whole field, stood, observing and giving his orders; often with his watch in his hand, crying to his men in the midst of the heaviest fire: "Blücher or the night." These foreposts were crowded with troops, converted into fortresses, the walls pierced with loop-holes, and in every possible

Position of Wellington.

way made ready to receive the expected guests. On the left of the English lines, and two or three miles distant, rose the wooded heights of St. Lambert and Ohain, at which points Blücher, coming from Wavre, must appear, unless the roads had been found impassable.

Position of Napoleon.

Opposite the English rose a gentle elevation, called the Belle Alliance, from a farm-house which Napoleon had selected as his head-quarters. Here the French army was drawn up, also in three parallel lines; behind the whole the Imperial Guard, constituting the reserve. The artillery, Napoleon's favorite weapon, had arrived at an early hour, and when disposed for battle, the long height of the Belle Alliance bristled with cannon, waiting only a word. The forces actually on the field were: Napoleon's, seventy-two thousand; Wellington's, seventy thousand; Napoleon had, therefore, the numerical superiority. He had two hundred and forty cannon; the English only one hundred and fifty; and the French cavalry far exceeded the English in strength. His army, proud of having replaced their Emperor upon the throne, were in the highest spirits; inspired with blind confidence, a passionate love for their leader, and a burning ardor for the battle. Among the generals were Ney, Soult, Jérome Bonaparte, Vandamme, Gérard, Bertrand, Kellermann, Montholon, Gourgaud, Reille, Erlon, etc. The Anglo-Belgian army, on the contrary, had not been tried. It was a mixture of nationalities, and of different political opinions. The Belgians, it was believed, would have been better pleased under the banner of Napoleon. At a short distance behind Napoleon's position was the village of Plancenoit, occupied by the French, protecting the rear.

Wellington expected the attack at day-break. To his

astonishment and satisfaction, hour after hour passed and no attack. Napoleon, believing Blücher destroyed, waited for Grouchy. He thought, also, the ground not yet dry enough, and thus lost six or seven hours of inestimable value. In the meantime he indulged himself with a review, as in the old days of Campo Formio, Austerlitz, and Jena. He never once suspected that this was his last. From the silent and patient English lines, the French troops could be distinctly seen, their helmets and cuirasses flashing in the sun; Napoleon, amid prolonged cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" riding along their front; the cavalry raising their helmets on their sabers; the infantry their shakos on their bayonets, eager for the onset, sure of the victory. The bands played: "*Partant pour la Syrie.*"

Immediately before the battle.

Where was Blücher? From a military stand-point, it might well be expected that, after the defeat at Ligny, Blücher would retreat eastward (toward the Rhine) to join Bülow coming from Liège; for he could not move northward (toward Waterloo), without risking another battle with the overwhelming numbers of Grouchy and Napoleon. Nevertheless, the two resolute commanders, Blücher and Gneisenau, rather than abandon Wellington in his hour of need, with a daring almost without parallel in the history of war, confronted this danger, and all the obstacles of the roads, and pushed on their forces to the battle-ground, where was to be decided the fate of Germany and Europe.

Position of Blücher.

The battle commenced at half after eleven. Napoleon's plan was to break through the English lines by his heavy artillery, and to get possession of the road behind Wellington, that he might cut off his retreat. The attempt was to be first

11:30 o'clock.

made on the enemy's left; but to divert his attention, a heavy cannonade began to play upon the right; under cover of which, Jérome Bonaparte, with a strong division, moved forward to take one of the foreposts, Hougoumont. He was received by such a steady and well-directed fire from the English and Brunswickers through the loop-holes of Hougoumont that, after various assaults, he abandoned his purpose, losing many men and precious time.

While Jérome was vainly attacking Hougoumont, Napoleon launched the main charge. He hoped, by hurling an immense force against the weakest point, to break through the lines. Four divisions of infantry, under Erlon, advanced to attack the enemy's left wing, but were thrown into disorder by a murderous fire from the English artillery. Napoleon was about to support them by a more irresistible force, when, at one o'clock, through his glass, he discovered troops on the distant height of St. Lambert. He thought it Grouchy, but found it was Blücher, "with his whole army." This weakened him, and disturbed his plan of battle. He could no longer send to Ney the necessary re-inforcement. By an intercepted letter, he learned, also, that it was the plan of Blücher to storm the village Plancenoit, in his rear. He was thus obliged to detach about ten thousand men for the protection of that important point. With increasing anxiety, he dispatched courier after courier to hasten Grouchy. But Grouchy was miles distant, vainly striving, with his thirty-three thousand men, to cut his way through the corps of eighteen thousand which Blücher had left behind, under Thielemann.

1 o'clock.

While the appearance of the Prussians paralyzed Napoleon, it gave new life to the English. Loud hurrahs

rose along their lines. Wellington cried out: "There comes old Blücher, as large as life!"

But Blücher was yet two or three English miles distant, and required several hours to extricate his army from the narrow passes and deluged soil of the forest of St. Lambert, now converted into muddy pools and treacherous quagmires. The extraordinary exertion of the Prussians in and after the battle of Ligny, and the almost total failure of their food, had also told heavily upon them. Blücher, however, as soon as portions of his men, extricated from the swamps, could be brought into order, sent them forward; a division, under Bülow, to attack Plancenoit; another, under Ziethen, to strengthen the almost overwhelmed left wing of Wellington.

An attack on Hougoumont was bravely repulsed by the English and Brunswickers. Another, on the left, was nearly successful, but finally repulsed by the English and Hanoverians. At this point, the dead body of the English General Picton was borne off the field. The English General Ponsonby, at the head of the Scottish cavalry, drove the French back, even to the batteries of Belle Alliance, where he also was shot dead. Three desperate charges were now made by the French, which would certainly have decided the battle in their favor, had not Napoleon been prevented, by the appearance of Blücher, from sending the necessary re-inforcements. *2 o'clock.*

The French began to despair. Bülow was sweeping on to their rear, Ziethen to their front. No Grouchy appeared in the distance, and Blücher might be expected on the field at any moment. At the head of a massive body of cavalry, Ney (about four o'clock) furiously attacked Wellington's center; but the *4 o'clock.*

English and German infantry stood firm as a rock. To their glory, be it said, the center of their crescent had not moved back an inch; while the wings had come forward. Bülow was now rapidly advancing against Plancenoit. Had Napoleon not been thus prevented from supporting Ney's charge, the battle might yet have been won.

Wellington's position also had now become critical. The troops had been twelve hours at their post, and during the last seven hours, actually engaged in the battle. More than ten thousand had fallen. The road to Brussels, and the streets and houses of that city, were crowded with wounded, dying, and dead. Their foreposts were in the greatest danger. The brave Baring had been driven out of La Haye Sainte. Mont St. Jean was almost destroyed by the uninterrupted storms. The houses La Haye and Papelotte were taken. The center was with difficulty kept together. There were signs of wavering. At this moment, the Prussians began to take part in the action. With flying banners and loud hurrahs, Bülow's columns hastened against Plancenoit, stormed the village, and threatened Napoleon in the rear.

4:30 o'clock.

Ziethen soon reached the ground, and re-inforced the English left wing. The desperate battle was here renewed, and La Haye and Papelotte retaken.

At seven o'clock Plancenoit, which had been stormed by the Prussians, was retaken by the French. (The reader will bear in mind that this battle took place on the 18th of June, one of the longest days of the year, when, in the latitude of Brussels, the sun remains more than sixteen hours above the horizon. In fact, the daylight continues all night.)

7 o'clock.

Napoleon now gave his last battle command: "*La Garde Imperiale!*" These troops were considered the finest in the world. They were about twenty-five thousand in number. No one could be in the Guard who had ever committed an offense or received a reprimand. They were Napoleon's last hope. Ney, at their head, and supported on each side by the entire disposable force on the field, was ordered to break through the English center and finish the battle before Blücher himself could arrive. This was the desperate act of a gambler, who stakes all on one throw. The Guard, knowing their work was to restore the lost battle or die, swept forward with the fiery impetuosity by which the French so often had borne down all obstacles. To meet this last shock, Wellington brought his men together in lines four deep, commanding a portion to lie down, concealed in the grass, and all to wait silent and motionless till the enemy reached the ridge of the hill on which they stood. Onward swept the foe till within a few yards of the English muskets. Then blazed forth, along the whole English line, one universal, unbroken sheet of fire and death. Many a noble fellow reeled back and fell. Many a riderless horse turned in wild flight. In the midst of the deadly confusion, the English pressed coolly forward to finish their work with the bayonet. The Guard were forced back and down the descent; and with them the other French divisions on their right and left. The triumphant English battalions followed. The cavalry moved forward; and Wellington, placing himself at their head, ordered his whole line to advance. For a short time the brave French, even in the moment of their destruction, preserved some appearance of order, and retreated toward the Belle Alliance. But at this

Napoleon.

moment, Bülow, having re-stormed Plancenoit, and formed a union with Ziethen, joined in the pursuit, and attacked the French right wing. Thus pressed upon by Wellington, Bülow, and Ziethen, at the same time, the retreating French columns were seized with a panic, broke apart, scattered, and sought safety in chaotic flight. Napoleon was utterly and forever routed. On every side rose the cry: "*Sauve qui peut!*"

8 o'clock.

Ney, on foot, his horse shot under him, his head bare; waving his broken sword, courting death, strove in vain to rally them. But the bullet destined to pierce his heart was not to come from an English musket.

Ney.

From his horse, on the Belle Alliance, Napoleon beheld his complete and final destruction. Motionless, pale, he gave no order and uttered not a word. The few reserved Guards, affectionately and in deep silence, pressed close around their fallen master. Gourgaud at length took his rein and led him away toward Charleroi. It was time; for the columns of Bülow and Ziethen were rapidly advancing upon the farm-house of the Belle Alliance.

Napoleon.

On regaining his carriage, Napoleon found the road obstructed by the flying troops. The postilions cried: "*Way for the Emperor!*" The soldiers shouted back in derision: "*There is no Emperor!*" At Gemappe, several miles south of Waterloo, the Prussian fusileers came upon him in his carriage. At their noisy approach, he had just time to leap upon a horse and fly. He rode away without hat or sword. The chapeau, sword, orders, jewels, gold, portfolios, papers, etc., were found in the carriage, and are still exhibited in Berlin.

At nine, Blücher had brought his whole army upon the field, and at ten personally greeted Wellington on the spot of the Belle Alliance from which Napoleon had guided the battle. Wellington said: "I sleep to-night in Napoleon's head-quarters!" Blücher answered: "I will see that he does not get any other quarters to-night!"

Between 9 and 10 o'clock P.M.

As soon as possible after the battle, Gneisenau brought the whole Prussian army together and caused the men to sing the choral: "Nun danket alle Gott." Wellington and his troops then enjoyed a well-earned repose. The Prussians undertook the task of pursuing and annihilating the French army. Trumpets were sounded through the night, frightening the fugitives from the holes and corners where they had sought safety and rest. No quarter was given. It was deemed a duty to destroy the army which had so wantonly rekindled this great world conflagration.

After the battle.

The loss of the allies was twenty thousand; of Napoleon, twenty-five thousand. Grouchy escaped to Paris. Of the splendid troops who in the morning had been so eager for the onset, only a comparatively small remnant ever again met in arms.*

Loss.

On the 20th of June, the second day after the battle, a wretched fugitive, sick, exhausted, outlawed, without a spot in Europe where he could safely seek an hour's

* This battle has been differently described. One writer represents the troops of Wellington as, at one time, in full flight; another declares Napoleon left the Belle Alliance and took part in the last struggle to recover La Haye and Papelotte; a third says, the Emperor's horse was led from the field, not by Gourgaud, but by Soult. There is, moreover, a difference of opinion on the question: "Which party may most justly claim the honor of the victory?" The answer appears plain. Had not Wellington, with his indomitable courage, stood nearly the whole day, the battle would have been lost. But had not Blücher, with extraordinary energy and bravery, led his force to the field, the English would no doubt have been beaten. The honor must be equally divided. Each did "*what he could.*"

sleep, reached Paris and, under cover of the night, timidly entered the Elysée palace. It was the King of Fire; the dictator of the world. The palace in which he had sought shelter was no longer his property. He found, almost without exception, every one against him. The assembled Chambers loudly demanded his abdication. France regarded him as her destroyer. Not only his liberty but his life was in danger. Blücher proposed to have him immediately shot, in the court of the prison of Vincennes where the Duke d'Enghien had been murdered. This, Wellington refused, saying: "I am not an executioner. I am a soldier." It was Prussia who proposed St. Helena as a prison. Napoleon might have escaped to America, but, still trusting to his star, he remained several days in Paris. The allies soon appeared, and he saw that the treacherous star had set at last. He abdicated in favor of his son, and fled to the sea-port Rochefort, on the Bay of Biscay. He might yet have here succeeded in embarking for America but for Fouché. That gentleman hastened to inform Wellington, and asked a safe-conduct for Napoleon from Rochefort through the English fleet. The consequence was, as Fouché no doubt intended, Wellington gave notice to the numerous English frigates, cruising along the French coast, to concentrate upon Rochefort. So the ocean as well as the land was closed against the fugitive, once so mighty. Seeing escape impossible, he surrendered to England, accompanied by several faithful generals. The party was received, July 15, on board the ship-of-war "Bellerophon," which immediately left the Bay of Biscay, sailed round into the British Channel, and came to anchor off Plymouth. Here for the first and last time, Napoleon saw the coasts of that England against

End of Napoleon.

which he had waged such a long and impotent war. When the English people heard that their enemy was a prisoner on board a British ship in the channel, thousands repaired to the coast, hoping to get a sight of him. The "Bellerophon" was continually surrounded by boats, crowded with eager watchers. Napoleon often appeared upon deck, and for the last time heard the hurrahs of multitudes. On the 30th of July, he learned that he was to be held a prisoner for life in the Island of St. Helena. His presence in the channel agitated all England. Mr. Thiers says: "The British government was incommoded by having at Plymouth an object of such passionate curiosity." From the generals who had come on board with him, he was allowed to select three companions for St. Helena, with their wives and children. He selected Bertrand, Montholon, and Gourgaud. Las Casas and Napoleon's faithful valet, Marchand, were afterward added, by the benevolent intervention of the English officers. On the 7th of August, the party was transferred to the "Northumberland." The affair was pushed on with nervous haste. They were still afraid of their great captive. The commander was ordered to sail instantly. The weather was bad. The "Northumberland" came out of the channel and steered south, through mist and sleet. Napoleon stood watching on deck, and caught a last view of France, a scarcely discernible blue cloud, rapidly sinking beneath the horizon. So the ship plowed on her course to the ocean rock on the opposite side of the globe, and reached St. Helena, October 17, 1815. Napoleon remained there a prisoner till May 5, 1821, when his spirit took flight in a tremendous storm, which tore up the greatest trees of the island by the roots as he had torn up kingdoms and empires.

We first see Napoleon a spectator at the storming of the Tuileries (August 10, 1792); disgusted with the excesses of the mob and the heads borne about on pikes, and exclaiming: "Hideous! Loathsome! A few grape would soon send those fellows flying." Thirteen years subsequently, this unknown, sensitive young lieutenant had become master of France, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, Turkey, the Netherlands, the German Empire, and the Papacy; in fact, the most powerful person on the earth. The great field-marshals declared it useless to resist him. The people began to think him something supernatural. When he appeared in public, the air was rent with acclamations as if a god had descended upon the earth. He once asked: "What do the people say of me?" His minister replied: "They say your Majesty is the Antichrist." Upon this, he turned pale. In some points he did, indeed, approach the Christian idea of Antichrist. For a time, he seemed marvelously called to seize all the kingdoms of the earth and the glory of them. And how the dazzling vision altered him! How inflated, demoralized, and unmerciful he became! What a fierce countenance! How he magnified himself in his heart! What great words he spoke: "I recognize no German Empire. —I acknowledge no Duke of Brunswick.—The Bourbons have ceased to reign.—The Braganzas have ceased to reign.—I will finish the education of the King of Sweden in a French State prison.—I will break Austria to pieces like a potter's vessel.—I will raise Bavaria and Westphalia above her to the heights of power.—I will put my foot upon England and Russia as reptiles in my path.—Russia is dragged on by her fate. Her destiny must be accomplished.—Every ship entering an English port is confis-

Thoughts on Napoleon.

cated.—All nations are forbidden to hold intercourse with England even by letter," etc., etc. By his Continental System, he commanded the inhabitants of the earth not to buy or sell without his permission. We think we hear a decree by Nebuchadnezzar or Darius. By the Confederation of the Rhine, he attempted to form the Kingdoms and States of Europe into a pedestal upon which his own image was to stand. So low beneath his feet had he brought the world. Yet he had done nothing compared with what he intended to do. "The height to which I have mounted," he said, "compels me to ascend higher. —I must become dictator of the world.—I have eight hundred thousand soldiers.—The rotten old Europe must obey my will.—All her different States must be melted into one, with Paris for its capital.—There must be one code, one weight, one measure, one coinage," etc., etc.

In the pursuit of this enchanting phantom, he seemed at times transformed into a demon. How he trampled upon the laws of humanity, of nations, and of God! How he browbeat the gentle King of Prussia! How he strove to blacken the snow-white name of Queen Louisa! With what barbarity he launched death sentences to the right and left! The noble Palm (of the two, the greater hero): *Instantly shot!*—The innocent d'Enghien: *Condemned to death!*—The brave Andreas Hofer (whose military judges recommended him to mercy): *Death within twenty-four hours!*—The twelve officers of Schill (for their rash endeavor to free their country): *Instant death!*

And what was the use of all this? Did it keep Germany down? And what was the end of it? Leipsic! Waterloo! The "Northumberland"! He regarded himself as a god; but he was only an instrument. When the

Holy Roman Empire fell, his mission was fulfilled. In six years, his grand army was buried beneath the snow-banks of Russia; and in three years more, the poor world dictator was chained for life to the rock of St. Helena.

Compare Napoleon with Frederic William III. While the former was climbing higher and higher only to be precipitated into an abyss, Frederic William, with faith in a ruling power, was patiently laying the foundation of the great Empire of the Hohenzollerns.

From the beginning of the world, conquerors have sought to become masters of mankind, and to issue decrees binding upon "all the kingdoms, nations, and languages that dwell in all the earth." The attempt has always failed. The Tower of Babel remains uncompleted to this day. Pharaoh and his chariots are cast into the sea. Nebuchadnezzar, from his highest glory, is called down to eat grass as oxen, "until he learn that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will." Xerxes scourges the disobedient sea in vain; and Belshazzar, with all the other great world masters (Greece, Rome, etc.), tremble, and their knees smite one against the other when they see the hand-writing on the wall. The attempt to acquire universal power always has brought, and always will bring, a malediction from above, because it is the attempt of man to take the place of God in the government of the world. Yet Napoleon renewed the attempt, and came very near succeeding. What would he have done had he subjected England, and by a treaty at Moscow like that at Tilsit, brought the two Great Powers beneath his feet as he had brought Prussia and Austria? India and the Ganges, Jerusalem and Constantinople, floated before his imagi-

nation. At Leipsic and Waterloo, the struggle was between all Europe and this one man; and the battles were clothed with a greater historical importance from the circumstance that this one man had destroyed the seventh world empire, and aimed at founding an eighth, and a more powerful one in its place.

And here a question. Is it impossible that a man may one day, at least for a time, really:

> "Get the start of the majestic world,
> And bear the palm alone"?

May not some soldier appear with a more resplendent military genius than Napoleon; more prudent, cunning, and diplomatic; longer lived, and more favored by circumstances? The world is rapidly growing smaller. Oceans are dwindling to rivers. Tunnels, canals, Panama, Suez, Kiel, Corinth, are bringing distant points near. Remote regions are becoming accessible. The railroad now leads in an hour through mountain ranges, which, for centuries, have been barriers between nations and languages. What new inventions and discoveries! What stupendous military organizations and munitions! What gigantic cannon sending destruction to the distance of miles! What a terrible weapon is the torpedo! The musket becomes every year more deadly. The balloon may be perfected into an inconceivable, frightful instrument of war. What may not science make of dynamite and electricity? What is the meaning of these appalling apparitions? They mean war.

Not only weapons of war, but causes of war are increasing. Conflicts of popular interests, passions, and opinions, hitherto separate and local, are now extending over the whole globe. Classes are arraying themselves

against classes; laborers against capitalists; communists and anarchists against the defenders of authority and order; atheists, denying any difference between right and wrong, denying the future life, the Revelation, the existence of God; against the Christians who believe in an eternal truth revealed to the earth, and in an omnipotent, merciful, and just Creator and Ruler. These questions are as explosive as the torpedo, and the danger of kindling them is always increasing. Our future wars may be on a much larger scale; no longer confined to a country, nor even to a continent. The old Ottoman Empire, which has afflicted the world for more than a thousand years, is breaking up. The Mohammedan population, thoroughly warlike, is nearly two hundred millions. Will this ancient and awful power abandon the field without a struggle? America is comparatively uninhabited; a land of gold, silver, copper, and iron; of corn, wine, oil, milk, butter, and honey; a "land of brooks of water; of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills"; in short, a promised land for the Asiatic and European laborer. The Pacific will soon cease to be a separation. On the shore, opposite, lies Asia, with her millions and millions. How long will it be possible to keep such a pent-up ocean from overflowing its banks? These are some (and only some) of the explosive materials working and smoldering beneath the foundations of our present civilization.

The old French Revolution resulted from a comparatively small and local conflict of class interests and ideas. It was a warning to mankind. Out of it, after all the shouting for liberty, came the greatest despot the world has ever seen. Imagination pictures the future Napoleon rising from greater revolutions, and triumphantly riding

on the waves of a larger war; ascending so high that it is necessary for him to ascend yet higher; and inspired with the idea that, not only "the rotten old Europe," but the rotten old *world* must obey his will; holding in his hand all the perfected forces of art, science, and nature; sole master of the State, the army, the navy, the family, the church, the school, the press, the university, the railroad, the telegraph; flashing orders at the same moment around the whole globe; launching his cohorts by rail, or some more perfect mode of locomotion, from his capital to Petropaulovsk and San Francisco; from Hammerfest and Fort York to Cape Town, Singapore, and Terra del Fuego.

An interesting picture is sometimes seen, which may be an original drawing and may be a fancy piece. An elderly man, rather stout, in the plain, careless dress of a burgher, with a broad-rimmed old straw hat, looking like a farmer, sits on a bench alone, lost in thought. It is Napoleon at St. Helena. He has been several years a prisoner. His life is nearly ended. He has no more hope. He gazes over the ocean toward France. Perhaps (as, after a long period of silent meditation, he was once heard to do), he is unconsciously murmuring: "*Alors j'étais Napoléon. Mais maintenant!*" (Then I was Napoleon. But now!)

No doubt his downfall and six years' imprisonment broke his heart and humbled him before God. A great German writer declares:* "History has never presented a personage more closely resembling the demoniacal character given to Antichrist than Napoleon." But the same writer has also the following: "Three chief marks

* C. A. Auberlen, Dr. d. Philos., Lic. u. a. d. Prof. d. Theol., zu Basel. II. Auflage. Basel, 1857.

will distinguish Antichrist: I. The highest prudence, understanding, scientific knowledge. II. The entire civilized world will bend beneath his scepter. III. He will be an incarnation of pure atheism, antitheism, and autotheism. In him will culminate worldly power and culture, human iniquity, and hatred of God, His people, and His service."

Napoleon was far from resembling this picture. He had faith in God, and believed in the Divine origin of the Gospel, although he was so far from making it his rule of action. Notwithstanding his criminal ambition, we follow his course with a strange sympathy. There was about him a glory and a fascination almost irresistible. His life presents a captivating series of subjects for the painter and dramatist: Passing over the Alps; beneath the Pyramids; in the burning Moscow; at the mill of Leipsic; before his old soldiers at Grenoble; beholding the last crash from Belle Alliance; his farewell view of France from the deck of the "Northumberland." Who is not familiar with his personal appearance, his uniform, chapeau, and little gray surtout? With what interest does the tourist gaze on the relics of him preserved in the galleries of Europe: his camp bed; his saddle; his theatrical dress as First Consul (we fancy we see around it the old revolutionists: Barras, Sieyès, Carnot, Talleyrand, etc.); the boots he wore at the battle of Dresden; his grand coronation carriage; the cradle of the little King of Rome (into which he has so often looked); the chapeau and other objects taken at Waterloo; the glove worn by that small, delicate hand, from which all the armies of Europe strove so long in vain to wrench the scepter of the world.

What would Napoleon have done had he escaped from Rochefort to New York or Boston? Where would he

have lived? Would he have called on anybody? Would he have received visits? Would some merchant prince have made him a guest? How would he have borne himself amid the conventionalities of American fashionable life? Would he have worn,—

"—— son petit chapeau
Avec redingote grise"?*

How would he look in plain citizen's clothes, with a swallow-tailed coat and cylinder; or in a Boston wrapper and felt knock-about hat? What forms would the lady of the house adopt with regard to him? While being led into the dining-room, what would she say to the King of Fire; the representative of the Cæsars; the murderer of d'Enghien; the *Imperator* of the World?

Code Napoleon and other internal improvements.

Napoleon endowed France with many useful institutions and noble public works; for instance, the roads over Mt. Cenis and the Simplon, etc.; also, canals and quays, etc. He founded high-schools, created six thousand four hundred scholarships, representing an annual expense of five million francs; schools of law, of medicine, for engineers, and for the general instruction of officers. On taking power, he swept away masses of trash, and no doubt did much other good. "These improvements," he said, "are only a commencement; I shall do more hereafter." His most durable monument is the "Code Napoleon," a digest of the four hundred codes previously existing, the most important those of Theodosius, Justinian, Alfred, etc. It was commenced in 1803, and, in the midst of his wars,

* If not too trivial, a common error may be here corrected. The writer had an opportunity, in 1837, to place upon his own head the celebrated chapeau found in Napoleon's carriage after his flight from Waterloo. It is not at all "petit," but unusually large. It is now to be seen in the arsenal at Berlin.

occupied him till 1810. It was prepared by the most eminent jurists, under his presidency. He personally took part in the discussions, and astonished the ablest lawyers by his profound suggestions. It was adopted by France, and subsequently by the Rhinelands of Prussia, Bavaria, and Hesse; also by Belgium, Baden, Holland, and Italy. It has been differently judged. It appeared at a time when a movement (which still continues) had commenced to overthrow all governments and laws, and even the principle of authority itself. It consisted of five codes; among which were the Code of Civil Procedure, the Code of Commerce, the Penal Code. The latter was more severe than its predecessor. It re-established the branding of the criminal with a red-hot iron, the use of the iron collar, the punishment of mutilation, etc., and extended capital punishment to a greater number of cases. The "Code of Justinian" is one of the most perfect; that of Napoleon compares favorably with it.

Whatever may be the merits or demerits of this extraordinary man, he must be regarded as the most colossal figure of modern times. No other historical character ever came so near accomplishing so mighty a scheme of ambition. He had at one time the intention to dethrone the Emperor Francis of Austria, and to cause himself to be elected Roman Emperor, or Emperor of the West,—that is, of Europe.

CHAPTER XVIII.

EUROPE UNDER THE HOLY ALLIANCE—REIGN OF FREDERIC WILLIAM III.

AFTER the fall of Napoleon, and in support of the Treaties of Vienna, Frederic William III., Alexander, and Francis formed what is called the Holy Alliance. In this they bound themselves to regulate the political affairs of Europe on Christian principles. That would naturally mean, they would prevent the people from disturbing the peace by groundless revolution, and prevent the governments from kindling new revolutions by acts of oppression. The Alliance was undertaken with good motives. It originated in the genuine gratitude to God of Alexander and Frederic William for the deliverance of Europe from Napoleon. Francis refused to sign, but Metternich, on reading the document, handed it back and, laughing, said: "Your Majesty can safely sign. *It is all twaddle!*" The Alliance was acceded to by all the governments of Christian Europe, except Great Britain and the Pope. But the sovereigns very carelessly left the execution of the idea to their ministers; at last, chiefly to Metternich. It soon became a conspiracy against the people and an instrument of absolutism. The Congress had replaced upon their thrones several narrow-minded despots, bent upon re-imposing upon their subjects all the old abuses from which the Revolution had relieved them. No adequate measures had been

taken to protect the nations from the bigotry and tyranny of irresponsible dictators. The promised constitution was not given to Germany. The Spaniards, Neapolitans, Sardinians, and other Italians, the Belgians, Danes, French, Austrians, Germans, were all discontented with the new Europe. It was as natural that the people should resist as that a river, dammed up, should overflow its banks; and it was also natural that this disposition to overflow should move the sovereigns to raise the banks higher. Metternich, at the head of a strong reactionary party, regarded Europe not as a river against whose inevitable inundations the shores must be protected by proper moles and breakwaters, but as a volcano whose eruptions could be prevented only by building up the crater with massive decrees and merciless military force. The thirty-three years from the Congress of Vienna to the revolution of 1848, was a struggle between the people of Europe and Metternich. This was the state of the Second Germany, the Germany without an Emperor till 1848.

Revolutions.

Scarcely had the Congress terminated its duties, and the sovereigns remounted their thrones, when new revolutions began.

Spain, 1820.

Secret societies were formed; in Italy the Carbonari, in Germany the Burschenschaften, etc.; in Portugal and Spain, under the ancient name of Freemasons. The revolution soon broke out in Spain. Ferdinand VII., on re-ascending his throne, executed a *coup d'état*, abolished the constitution, and began a bloody, political, and ecclesiastical reaction, reviving the cloisters, the Inquisition, the Jesuits, the torture chamber, the scaffold, and all the horrors of the old medieval absolutism. The consequence was, a military

revolution, headed by Riego. The king fled. The Camarilla, the Jesuits, the office-seekers, the revengeful courtiers dispersed. Riego, a noble character, became President of the Cortes, and distinguished himself by firmness, tempered with moderation.

Naples, 1820. Ferdinand I.

The example of Spain was followed by Naples. Ferdinand I. immediately began a reactionary policy. Conspiracies, rebellions, revolutions, suppressed by military force, bombardments, foreign troops, trials, imprisonments, executions, disgusted Europe. The people rose, under Generals Pepe and Carascosa, defeated the royal forces, and established a liberal constitution (1821).

Portugal, 1821.

The French having seized Portugal in 1807, because the Portuguese government would not come into the Continental System, the royal family and nobles had, as we have seen, embarked for Brazil, and landed, 1808. Brazil became a kingdom. In 1821, King John VI. returned from Brazil to Portugal, called back by his subjects, on the condition that he would swear to the new constitution. He had scarcely left Brazil, when that colony broke away from the mother country, and his eldest son Pedro was proclaimed Emperor. From that time till 1834, Portugal was the scene of civil wars and revolutions. The throne was usurped by Don Miguel, who established a reign of terror. King John VI. fled on board an English ship-of-war. In 1834, the liberals triumphed. But the country continued to be shaken by revolutions and counter-revolutions.

Sardinia, 1821.

On remounting his throne (Sardinia), Albert Victor Emmanuel, introduced the reaction; recalled the Jesuits and the noblesse, with all their privileges; opposed the schools, and enchained the

press. He destroyed the botanical garden in Turin, and had the bridge over the Po torn down, because they had been erected by the French. Had he not been prevented, he would have demolished Napoleon's beautiful road over Mount Cenis, which had cost seven million francs. A military revolution broke out. It was joined by the students, a number of the highest nobility, and even the Crown-prince, Charles Albert, Prince of Carignan. The king abdicated in favor of his absent brother, and for a time relinquished the government to Charles Albert. The new regent immediately introduced a free constitution, and awakened hopes of a good government.

Intervention of the Holy Alliance.

Metternich now called upon the Holy Alliance. A congress of princes met at Laibach (Austria, 1821), Gentz, secretary. King Ferdinand I. of Naples assisted at the debates in person, and at his request an Austrian army marched into Naples, and forced him again upon the nation as its king.

Sardinia.

Sardinia shared the same fate. Austrian troops occupied the country, and restored the reactionary government. Austria had now done enough. She had executed the idea in a way which made her name and the name of the Holy Alliance execrable, and which threw the door wide open for the principle of revolution.

Spain.

In Spain, the restoration of absolutism was committed to Louis XVIII. A French army, under the Duke d'Angoulême (son of Count Artois and husband of the young daughter of Louis XVI., so long immured in the Temple), invaded Spain over the Pyrenees, and made a triumphal entry into Madrid (1822). King Ferdinand VII. re-ascended the throne

more powerful, vindictive, and brutal than ever, and supported himself by the free use of the dungeon and the scaffold. The actors in the revolution who had not saved themselves by flight were executed. Riego's body was quartered, and his limbs sent to different parts of the country. What steps did the Holy Alliance take to redress this wrong? None.

American Monroe Doctrine, Dec. 2, 1823.

The American Monroe Doctrine grew out of the restoration of the Spanish King Ferdinand VII. When Louis XVIII. had suppressed the Spanish revolution, France proposed to seek an indemnification for her war expenses, by seizing some of the Spanish colonies in South America; although at that time they had established their independence, and been recognized by the government of the United States. In his message to the Congress (December 2, 1823), President Monroe declared that the United States government would not entangle itself in the broils of Europe; but that, on the other hand, it would not suffer the powers of the Old World to interfere in the affairs of the New. An attempt on the part of Europe to extend its system to any part of the Western Hemisphere, would be opposed by the United States, as dangerous to its peace and safety. This doctrine was originally proposed by the British government. Lord Canning, at that time Prime Minister, pressed upon the American government the necessity of a decisive attitude, and President Monroe, after a Cabinet meeting, consequently laid the subject before Congress. The message was received with enthusiasm by America, and by the British Parliament and people. Lord Brougham, in a public speech, said: "No event had ever called forth greater gratitude and approbation from the friends of freedom in Europe."

Greek Revolution, Feb., 1821—Oct., 1828.

Under the Turkish rule, Greece had sunk to a miserable condition. The revolution broke out February, 1821. It represented liberty against despotism, and the cross against the crescent. The Turks attempted to suppress it by barbarous executions and massacres. The Greek patriarch was put to death at Constantinople. The town of Scio, on an island in the Greek Archipelago, was bombarded by an Ottoman fleet; twenty-five thousand Christians—men, women, and children—massacred, and forty-five thousand sold into slavery. Such were the masters under whom the Congress of Vienna had left Greece. Ypsilanti, one of the Greek leaders, was taken prisoner by the Austrians, and kept in prison six years, by which his health was so ruined that he died immediately after his release. No doubt, Metternich would have replaced the Greeks under the Turkish rule, had he dared, but public opinion was too strong. The Greeks had been under the Turkish cimeter from 1450, and the rapacity and barbarism of the government had threatened annihilation to their nationality; but the antagonism was too great to permit amalgamation. The Greeks profess to trace their Church directly back to the Apostles. In 1825, Ibrahim Pascha, general of Mehemed Ali, vice King of Egypt, swept over nearly the whole of the Morea, devastating as he went in the true old Turkish fashion. The result was, a treaty between Russia, England, and France (London, 1827), in consequence of which, the combined squadrons of those three powers met the Turkish fleet at Navarino, and annihilated it. The Porte acknowledged the independence of Greece by the Treaty of Adrianople, 1829. Otho of Bavaria was elected king, May 7, 1832. The Great Powers were

generally against the Greeks; but the public opinion was loud in their favor. If Russia aided in breaking the chains of Greece, it was not from humanity, but in pursuance of her fixed idea to become one day master of Constantinople.

French Revolution, July, 1830.

In 1830, the reactionary French King Charles X. roused the French to a revolution, July 27–29, which drove the king out of France and called Louis Philippe to the throne.

A more particular account will be given in a future section.

Belgian Revolution, Aug. 25, 1830.

The Congress of Vienna, as we have seen, erected the territory which appears in our maps as Belgium and Holland into one kingdom, and bestowed it upon Prince William Frederic of Orange-Nassau, who had remained faithful to the allies in the struggle against Napoleon. He reigned as William I., King of Holland. Nothing was considered in this transaction but the best mode of rewarding a loyal adherent, and of obliging a powerful ally. The interest and wishes of the Belgian people went for nothing. The Dutch might have conciliated the Belgians; but Holland did not adopt a fair policy. The Belgians were Roman Catholics, and in language, manners, and customs, French; the Dutch, Protestants and Calvinists,—more religious, but not always carrying out their Christian ideas. They treated the Belgians as a conquered people. The country was already in a state of extraordinary excitement when the news of the *coup d'état* of Charles X.; the Paris revolution; the flight of the king, etc., broke suddenly upon it. On the 25th of August, 1830, Auber's opera, "Massaniello," was performed at the Grand Opera at Brussels. The market *barcarolle* and the revolutionary scene pro-

duced the explosion. The audience rushed into the street, and began the work of demolition; destroying the government offices, the houses of the government, etc. The military fired; the people answered from barricades and fortified houses, with the tricolor waving over them. The revolution grew more and more furious. Other Belgian cities rose; and, to be short, after heavy fighting, obtained independence (November 10, 1830). The national Congress determined to adhere to the monarchical form of government, but decreed that the House of Orange should be forever excluded from the throne. The King of Holland appealed to the Great Powers, who had guaranteed his throne. They accordingly met in London, by their representatives (January 20, 1831), but acknowledged the independence of Belgium.

Polish Revolution, Nov., 1830-1831.

With the constitution which Alexander had given in 1815, and in consequence of the generous spirit in which he favored her interests, Poland had reached a certain degree of peaceful prosperity. But the two revolutions of France and Belgium awakened old ideas. The benevolent Alexander was dead, and the Grand Duke Constantine, gloomy, haughty, despotic, ruled with an iron scepter, violated the charter, and inflamed the people with a desire of change. A revolution, marked by discord and bloody crimes, broke forth. The Emperor Nicholas sent an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, with four hundred cannon, under Diebitsch and Paskewitsch. Prussia, who feared the loss of her own Polish province, cooperated with Russia. The revolution was suppressed; estates confiscated; leaders shot; hundreds sent for life to the mines and ice-fields of Siberia. Numbers emigrated. Poland was deprived of her constitution; and every

measure taken to efface her nationality, her language, literature, and historical souvenirs. The Poles, capable of military service, were condemned to enter Russian regiments. The once mighty Poland became a Russian province. New revolutions subsequently broke out, 1846, 1848, 1863, etc. They were promptly and mercilessly suppressed.

State of Germany.

Although no representative of the people was admitted into the German Bundestag, and although Prussia, under the influence of Metternich, had avoided representative forms, various South German States had not found it possible to exclude them. The Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, Goethe's friend, was the first who gave a liberal constitution and freedom of the press. The peasant had a seat in the Chamber, which initiated laws and voted the budget. Bavaria, Würtemberg, Hesse-Darmstadt, Nassau, Lippe, Lichtenstein, and the Saxon duchies also received a representative system. Some of the constitutions presented stipulations which, unfortunately, have not been introduced into the laws for electing the American Congress, the British Parliament, or other representative assemblies. One required that no person could be a candidate without possessing a piece of ground, and without being of an amiable disposition.

North German States.

In 1821, all the Southern States had constitutions. They were generally given merely because it was not to be avoided, and it was often the business of the sovereigns, as well as of the Bundestag, to see that these dangerous pyrotechnic machines did as little mischief as possible.

The North German aristocracy looked upon constitutionalism as a contagious epidemic, to be guarded against

by police and quarantine regulations. They reasoned in this way. If virtuous and Christian agents could be found to administer constitutions, they would be a blessing both to sovereigns and nations; for no one felt more keenly than some of the sovereigns themselves, the disgrace brought upon the cause of monarchy by such rulers as King Frederic I. of Würtemberg, the Elector William of Hesse-Cassel, etc. "But," thus reasoned the sovereigns, "we know, first, that constitutions will finally come into the hands of unprincipled demagogues and atheists, and will be gradually used for the destruction, not only of thrones, but of Christianity, and the very principle of authority. We will, therefore, resist as long as we can, and see who will first cry: 'Hold, enough.'"

This argument was no justification for absolutism; first, because there was danger, also, that the royal scepter might fall into the hands of an unprincipled tyrant. Secondly, because public opinion was too powerful to be resisted. The wise course would have been to lead the country carefully, but fairly, forward in the path of constitutional development.

The North German sovereigns were not of this opinion. Prussia strictly maintained the old monarchical forms. The German publicist, Gorres, declared South Germany was afflicted with the Saint Vitus' dance, while North Germany, struck down by apoplexy, was unable to move.

Oldenburg.

The Grand Duke of Oldenburg told his subjects, when they petitioned for a representation, that they must hold on with the old system a little longer, till he had time to observe how the constitutions operated in the other German States.

The Hanoverian nobles wanted to restore the government as it had been before the outbreak of the French

revolution. They, however, bestowed a representative assembly, to which the nobles sent forty-three members, and the people three, so that all those volcanic eruptions which generally mark the development of constitutionalism could be suppressed at their outbreak by a majority of forty. Moreover, the debates were not public.

Hanover.

It had been the idea of Stein, instead of an Emperor, to place at the head of the Germanic Confederation a Directory, consisting of Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, and Hanover. This idea underwent a variety of changes, one party aiming at liberal amendments; the other, protection from the slightest taint of popular influence. The result was, the celebrated Bundestag, or Federal Diet, in which each State of the Confederation was represented in the order of its rank, and without any prejudice to the rank of the sovereigns. In the committee, the States were represented by seventeen plenipotentiaries. The presidency of the Diet was given to Austria. Why?

Bundestag.

The Bundestag was hated by the nation, because it was too reactionary; by Metternich and his party, because it was too progressive. Stein refused the offered appointment of Prussian representative in it, on grounds not complimentary to the Assembly.

This was the Europe in which Frederic William III. of Prussia, after the Congress of Vienna, was called upon to re-ascend one of the most important thrones; a Europe laboring with new revolutions. He had already been king eighteen years, but his kingdom had been occupied by the French. His subjects considered him bound to bestow a liberal constitution. He had promised, by the proclama-

Frederic William III. resumes his throne.

tion of Kalisch, and by the Act of Confederation. His first step was to reorganize his government; but he was immediately confronted by real difficulties. It was very easy to promise a constitution; but it was not possible, nor would it have been just, to establish a constitution without the participation of the princes and nobles who formed so large a part of the nation. He was surrounded by great military governments, who were afraid of revolution and opposed the least reform. A reactionary party existed in Prussia, too powerful to be disregarded. Frederic William was honest and fair-minded, and desired the happiness and progress of his people; but he determined to do nothing prematurely. The country was, therefore, for the present, organized on its old basis, and every power vested in the king.

Wartburg festival, October 18, 1817.

The third Centennial Jubilee of the Reformation was celebrated at the Castle of Wartburg by five hundred persons,—students, members of the Burschenschaft, and representatives of the universities. The day was also the fourth anniversary of the battle of Leipsic. The festival was not intended to be a political demonstration; but some speeches leaned in that direction. One speaker expressed regret that so many noble hopes had been disappointed; another, that only one prince (Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar) had at that time kept his promise and given a real constitution; but several professors gently reminded the company that they were not assembled for a political purpose; and the festival quietly terminated. In the evening, there was a torchlight procession, and a few students determined to give a more open expression to the sentiments of the Burschenschaft. The student Massmann and some other friends had collected a basket

of books, and as Luther, their great ancestor, had burned the Papal bull, the canon law, etc., so the Wartburg apostles of liberty, with ostentatious ceremonies, committed to the flames as false and infamous, twenty-eight reactionary volumes of their day; among others, the "Code Napoleon" and the works of Kotzebue.

Kotzebue.

Kotzebue, political editor of a German newspaper, was in 1817 appointed Russian agent in Weimar, with high pay, nominally to describe the state of literature in Germany; but really to watch the revolutionary movements, and to make secret reports. He excited indignation by articles ridiculing the Liberal party, and particularly the Burschenshaften. His unpopularity brought him many inconveniences. Sometimes he heard not very complimentary songs about himself in the streets. A shower of stones sometimes smashed in his windows. One day, a secret report from his pen to the Emperor of Russia accidentally fell into the hands of Professor Luden, editor of a Liberal newspaper, which, by a curious coincidence, bore the title of "Nemesis" (Goddess of Vengeance). The report was immediately published. Kotzebue was obliged to leave Weimar, and chose Manheim for his residence.

Karl Sand murders Kotzebue, March 23, 1819.

Karl Sand, a young enthusiast, member of the Burschenschaft, who had assisted in the ceremony of burning books at the Wartburg, determined to assassinate Kotzebue. On March 23, 1819, he called at Kotzebue's house, found him engaged, and was requested to come again. In the afternoon, he called a second time, was admitted, handed Kotzebue a letter, and while he was reading it, drew a dagger, and stabbed him to the heart, exclaiming: "*Here, thou traitor to my fatherland!*" Kotzebue died almost

immediately. Sand then stabbed himself, ran out of the house into the street, knelt down, with a loud voice called a blessing of God upon his country, shouted thanks for this triumph, and stabbed himself again. He entirely recovered from his wounds in prison, where he remained fifteen months.

The incident produced an extraordinary excitement throughout Europe. Kotzebue is known as an author. His two plays, "The Stranger" and "Pizarro," are often given in the United States.

Carlsbad decrees, Sept. 20, 1819.

The German sovereigns now convened a Ministerial Congress at the Austrian town Carlsbad, in Bohemia (Gentz again secretary); they thought the manifestations of public discontent would be stopped by more repressive measures. The Congress promulgated the following decrees: "All political unions among students illegal. Turnanstalten prohibited. Societies for the practice of gymnastics branded as revolutionary. Universities placed under surveillance. A government agent, with full powers, appointed to watch over the professors and students. A central commission to guard against demagogical intrigues. The press subjected to a severe censorship, and the Bundestag authorized to pass resolutions absolutely binding in every German State."

This Congress also declared it the duty of each separate German State to interpret the thirteenth article of the Act of Confederation (of 1815) in a monarchical sense. The Prussian government acquiesced in these measures. Several Prussian statesmen of eminence manifested disapprobation by withdrawing from the public service.

King Frederic William now took a step forward. A royal decree proclaimed that the Prussian government

would hereafter contract no debt without the consent of the future representative assembly. This step forward was, perhaps, intended to counterbalance the Carlsbad decrees.

Law respecting the public debt. Staatsschuldengesetz, January 14, 1820.

It became clear that the crime of Sand was not the result of a conspiracy, but an isolated act of youthful fanaticism. Even among the sovereigns there was a desire to save the poor, foolish boy. But the Russian Emperor, Alexander, intimated a wish that he should be made an example. Sand's bearing in prison invested the young murderer with a dangerous interest. He exhibited the qualities of a hero and martyr. His advance from the prison to the scaffold (in Manheim) was one continued ovation. Wreaths and roses were showered upon him, and white handkerchiefs waved from every window. He died, May 20, 1820, with composure.

Sand's execution, May 20, 1820.

The troublesome thirteenth article in the Act of Confederation was now canceled. A Congress of Representatives, convoked by the German governments, met in Vienna, and passed a fourteenth and concluding article, called the Vienna Schlussact. It contained sixty-five paragraphs, generally reactionary. They declared that the right of interpreting the Act of Confederation (of 1815) and of applying its different stipulations, belonged to the Bundestag alone. On the occasion of an insurrection in any State, the Bundestag had not only the authority, but the obligation, instantly to suppress it, even where the government of the said State had not asked aid. The right was denied to the Chambers of a State to refuse the money necessary to carry on the government. The thirteenth article was declared not to have been intended

Vienna Schlussact, May 15, 1820.

as a promise of popular representation, but merely that the estates should be convoked, and that by such assemblies the prerogative of the throne should in no way be limited. That is: the article declaring that a constitution, based on representation, should be introduced meant that it should *not* be introduced.

Five royal Congresses of the Holy Alliance, 1818-1822.

While increasing marks of public discontent were taking place in other parts of Europe, North Germany, under the watchful eye of Metternich, remained the central point of opposition to constitutional forms. The Bundestag was an object of ever-increasing unpopularity. The German princes held frequent Congresses. These Congresses, more than the Burschenschaften, strengthened the subsequent revolutions.

Liberal men.

The extreme reactionary party profited by the crime of Sand to increase repressive measures. It was declared that a wide conspiracy existed. A harassing system of persecution was commenced. The police hunted for the great pretended conspiracy. Thus, poor Sand had not only brought the crime of murder upon his soul, but had given the reactionary party a pretext for stronger measures. Many young students were condemned to imprisonment, because they had worn a patriotic color, or sung a patriotic song in the street. Many a man was ruined for having, in a confidential letter, blamed government proceedings. The accusation against one young student was, that he had made a drawing of the devil swallowing a king. Against another, that he had exclaimed: "Oh, Sand, thou knewest not what beasts of burden (Heuochsen) we are!" No capital punishment disgraced this period, but some of the sentences were: "Ten years in a fortress." The folly in

so seriously punishing was greater than that of the accused in committing those acts. It does not appear at all that the king personally urged, or willingly admitted, these measures; but the blame lies with a clique of men, Metternich at their head, ignorant of the science of government. These and other manifestations were regarded as a withdrawal of the promise to bestow a representative constitution, and were openly disapproved, not only by professional demagogues, but by distinguished Prussian statesmen and patriots, whose love of the monarchy could not be questioned,—William von Humboldt, Arndt, General Boyen, and others.

Provincial Diets created, Aug. 3, 1823.

On the king's birthday, the long-promised system of representation was proclaimed. It was substantially as follows: A Council of State, a mere consultative body, without administrative authority, with the right in every important affair to express an opinion. It consisted of—

I. Princes of the royal house, not younger than eighteen.

II. Certain State magistrates.

III. Military commanders of provinces.

IV. Any other person whom the king might appoint.

Six years afterward, aroused by several popular excesses, and by the loud voice of the universities, his Majesty took another step. A royal ordinance bestowed a certain right upon the four estates in the eight different provinces:

I. Mediatized princes and superior nobles.

II. Inferior nobles and great land-holders.

III. Burgesses.

IV. Peasants, small land-holders, etc.

These four estates were clothed with the right to

elect an Assembly in each province. The total number of members for the eight provinces was five hundred and seventy-eight. The first and second classes sent two hundred and seventy-two; the third class, one hundred and eighty-two; the fourth, one hundred and twenty-four. These eight Assemblies sat separately, each in its own province.

The third and fourth classes thus sent sixty-six more members than the first and second classes. The age of each elector was fixed at twenty-five years; of each deputy, at thirty. Deputies were elected for six years. The king nominated a president and vice-president from the first and second classes, and fixed the duration of each session. The Assemblies were to occupy themselves only with provincial matters. The sittings were not public; nor were their proceedings published, only their results. The king considered this a very important step forward. Any further fundamental changes at that time he thought dangerous. The retrograde party regarded with gloomy prophecies of evil even that faint shadow of a national representation. In fact, as was manifest a quarter of a century afterward, these provincial Diets, called together in joint session, 1847 and 1848, exercised an immense influence.

The nation was deeply disappointed. It had hoped for a national Parliament, at least approaching to those of England and the United States. It regarded the provincial Diets, therefore, as an insignificant concession. Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that the thirteenth article of the Act of Confederation promised only a representation by estates.

If Prussia did not thus actually drift backward, she did not advance very rapidly. The idea was a benevolent,

just, patriarchal government, treating the people as parents treat their children, rewarding the good, punishing the naughty, and not permitting them to read books and newspapers, or meddle with subjects above their understanding. This system might have been more patiently borne if directly administered by the king, but in the hands of a bureaucracy it gradually became unreasonable and oppressive. The real shadow upon the reign of Frederic William III. is the number and severity of prosecutions and imprisonments of inexperienced young students and moderate men, for natural and just expressions of indignation at the absurd extent to which the reaction was carried. Some of these were ridiculous, and some of them were seriously cruel. Fine young men, not revolutionists, naturally disapproving acts of stupid oppression, were informed against by a spy, dragged from their family, and cast into prison for ten years. The German people took note of this. The principle of absolutism was pressed by Austria, as far as possible, upon every German State. Metternich was, in fact, the ruler and great police minister, and the German Diet at Frankfort used its whole influence to complete the reaction. It appointed a committee to prosecute and punish. A censorship was established, which required that every manuscript should be laid before the censor twenty-four hours previous to its publication. The extent to which this was carried, even in Prussia, no doubt far exceeded the intention of the government. On the appearance of the cholera in Berlin, the prohibition against smoking in the street was temporarily suspended. As the pestilence passed away, the prohibition to smoke in the street was re-introduced. A correspondent of the *Vossische Zeitung* ventured to ask

Increasing discontent.

whether the renewed prohibition extended to the adjoining park, called the Thiergarten? For several days this inflammatory question was discussed in the city journals; but the censor suddenly placed an extinguisher upon it, lest a careless spark might kindle the passions of a wider circle, and wrap, perhaps, the world in flames.

The restrictive measures of the German Diet became more and more intolerable, and Metternich had the art to throw the odium upon Prussia. So far from performing his promise of a Liberal constitution, the king, it was said, was earnestly advised to withdraw the few reforms already accorded. The people complained that they were governed and over-governed by red tape; that affairs were conducted not only in an irresponsible, but in a secret way. The taxation, it was declared, spared the rich and weighed upon the poor. The manner of conducting judicial transactions caused discontent. No publicity, no jury, no verbal proceedings, but the old system of written documents. Certain classes were exempt from the jurisdiction of public tribunals; and even had the right of jurisdiction over their vassals or tenants. In Austria, the police opened every letter they chose. Espionage was carried to perfection. Prussia and other parts of Germany, in certain cases, were not exempt. But Prussia, compared with Austria, was free. Prussian statesmen, regarded in Prussia as bigoted reactionaries, were in Austria considered dangerous demagogues. Metternich, like a bad doctor, was killing the patient by suffocation and thirst, while William von Humboldt and others advised to throw the windows wide open to let in the fresh air, and give plenty of pure water.

The Bavarian constitution had been granted, May 26,

1818. On the fourteenth anniversary of that event, the growing discontent of the nation found expression in a great meeting, attended by an enormous concourse amounting to between thirty thousand and forty thousand. The festival was held on the Kastanienburg, near the small village of Hambach, in the Bavarian palatinate, on the Rhine. The objects were declared to be not only the celebration of the above-mentioned anniversary, but to consider the means of entering into a manly conflict, not only with exterior but interior powers, to obtain for Germany freedom, nationality, and a new birth. The invitation had been addressed to German men and youths, to German matrons and maidens of every class. The Bavarian government attempted to forbid the meeting; but public opinion was too powerful. It accordingly took place. Among the multitude were many excited students; many French and Polish revolution-makers, and with the Polish flag, appeared the black, red, and golden flag of a popular united republican Germany.

Hambach festival.

This demonstration was soon followed by various others of the same kind, some of which were marked by an unmistakable revolutionary spirit. The people were getting impatient.

In consequence of these festivals, the Bundestag (July 5) published a decree prohibiting all public meetings and festivals without previous consent.

The Great Elector, Frederic William (1664), had, as we have seen, the idea to unite these two churches, and it was one of the favorite plans of Frederic William III. to carry out this idea.

Lutheran and Reformed churches.

On September 27, 1817 (third Centennial Jubilee of the Reformation), the king issued an appeal to the con-

sistories, synods, and superintendents of Prussia, in which he declared that he and his own family had adopted a form of worship founded on a union of the Lutheran and Reformed churches, and expressed the wish that the two Evangelical Church parties might enter into this union. Neither of the two churches should go over to the other; but a union should take place. The details were left to the Church authorities themselves. A cabinet order declared that the king did not wish to command, but only to recommend. It was not intended to use force. Existing rights should not be touched. The union was to result from free conviction and the union of hearts.

United Evangelical Church.

The plan was favorably, even enthusiastically received, not only in Prussia, but in various other Protestant German States,—Nassau, Rhenish Bavaria (Rheinpfalz), Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, Würtemberg, Anhalt-Dessau. The name United Evangelical Church was adopted. In some places, however, there was opposition; and the conflict with the government became animated, particularly in Breslau and other parts of Silesia. The king vainly tried to control it by measures of conciliation. An indiscreet rescript (May 15, 1834) prohibited any further discussion on the subject in Silesia. This, of course, only made matters worse. Some of the pastors, from a sense of duty, disobeyed the rescript, and were suspended. At Hoenigern, a village of six hundred and thirty-two inhabitants, near Breslau, a part of the congregation (December 24, 1834) surrounded the little church, and by forcibly closing the doors, attempted to prevent the new Evangelical form of worship from being held. A military force was ordered to break the doors open. This, of course, did not conciliate the opponents of the union.

The king made various subsequent concessions; but at his death, the question was bequeathed, with other more formidable difficulties, to Frederic William IV.

Quarrel with the Roman Church upon mixed marriages, 1825.

Since the Treaty of Westphalia, in the two Rhine provinces of Prussia, mixed marriages—that is, marriages between a Protestant and a Roman Catholic—had continually taken place. There had been no written agreement; but custom had gradually established a rule that where the marriage contract did not expressly stipulate the contrary, the children, according to the sex, should follow the religion of the parents,—that is, if the father were Protestant and the mother Catholic, the sons should be Protestant and the daughters Catholic, and *vice versa*. This rule, as securing equal rights to both parties, had become a law in various other places. In the Prussian Protestant provinces, the law was that unless both parents stipulated the contrary, all the children should be educated in the religion of the father. In 1825, the Prussian law was extended to the two provinces, Rhenish Prussia and Westphalia. This would not have been displeasing to the Catholic Church had the Protestant and Catholic fathers remained in equal number; but there appear to have been in those provinces more pretty young ladies than elsewhere. The Protestant men of the other provinces came in such numbers to seek wives in the Rhenish province and Westphalia that, if the law of 1825 had been carried out, the Roman Church would have lost a disproportionate number of its children. The bishops of the Rhine represented the case to the Pope, who issued a *Breve*, or order, declaring that mixed marriages were not allowed by the Church, although they were legally valid. Such marriages could receive the

blessing of the Church only on the condition of a legal stipulation on the part of both parents, that *all* the children should be educated in the Roman faith. Where this was refused, the marriage ceremony could be performed in the presence of the priest, but without his blessing.

The Prussian government treated this question in a conciliatory way, and at last succeeded in concluding an agreement that, although the papal order was not withdrawn, the Roman clergy should be permitted to ignore it. So mixed marriages, in the two provinces, went on pretty much as before. They were blessed by the priest, and all the children followed the religion of the father, until the elevation of Clemens Droste as Archbishop of Cologne. Archbishop Droste represented the most extreme ultramontane doctrines. Before his appointment, he gave a solemn promise to the Prussian government* to act with moderation and in conformity with the last agreement, which had been entered into by the two parties in the affair of mixed marriages. Immediately, however, on assuming his office as archbishop, he commanded his clergy, ignoring the agreement, to act strictly in the spirit of the Breve, and in *no case* to perform the ceremony of marriage without a previous promise, on the part of both parents, to bring up all their children in the Roman faith. The Prussian government remonstrated. The refractory bishop not only turned a deaf ear, but proceeded to still more illegal acts. King Frederic William caused him to be arrested and confined in the fortress of Minden, on the ground that he had produced a public excitement under the influence of revolutionary parties.

* The archbishop was elected by the mutual agreement of the Prussian government and the papal throne.

A very animated correspondence followed. In the midst of the conflict, an incident took place, which did not diminish its violence. Archbishop Dunin, of Posen, in a pastoral letter, February 27, 1838, also commanded that the priests of his diocese should bless no mixed marriage, except on the stipulation of both parents to bring up the children in the Catholic faith. He was condemned to six months' imprisonment in a fortress; but the king permitted him to pass the time in Berlin. As he, however, suddenly fled back to Posen, and there assumed his official authority, he was again arrested, and imprisoned in the fortress of Colberg.

This was the state of the mixed marriage question upon the death of Frederic William III.

An old-fashioned tyrant, Duke Charles of Brunswick, occupied the throne of the Duchy of Brunswick. He refused to convoke the Chambers, arbitrarily raised the taxes, sold the public domains, issued paper money, rewarded physicians who had refused to visit persons whom he hated, expelled a magistrate from the duchy because he offered his resignation; and when the decision of a Brunswick court of justice was handed to him, declaring that measure illegal, tore it to pieces in presence of the judge. On the 7th of September, 1830, the people surrounded his palace, and demanded a convocation of the Chambers. He replied by planting sixteen cannon against them. The infuriated people rose in insurrection; stormed the palace, set it on fire, and compelled the duke to seek safety in flight. He was declared incapable of governing, and his younger brother William succeeded to the duchy.

Brunswick, Sept. 7, 1830.

The Electorate of Hesse was at this time governed by William II., who ruled with a sort of crazy despotism;

knocked the highest noblemen of his court over the head with his cane, and occasionally attacked his adjutants with the drawn sword. In consequence of his connection with the Countess Reichenbach, with whom he lived after having separated from his wife, the countess was driven out of Cassel by the people. The Elector was at last obliged to abandon the government to his son, as co-Regent.

The Electorate of Hesse, 1831.

In 1692, the Duchy of Hanover, under Ernst Augustus, was raised to the rank of an electorate. How did Hanover become a British possession? When the people of England drove away James II., William III., Stadtholder of Holland (son of Mary of England, who was the eldest daughter of Charles I.), and his wife Mary, daughter of James II., were called to the throne. Queen Mary died, 1694, and King William, 1702, in consequence of a fall from his horse. An Act of Settlement, calling the House of Hanover to the throne of England, had previously been passed, in 1701. William was followed by Queen Anne, second daughter of James II., and the last member of the House of Stuart who reigned in England. Queen Anne died suddenly, without children. The crown had been settled, in expectation of this contingency, upon the Princess Electorate of Hanover, the granddaughter of James I. She was, by the Act of Settlement (1701), as the only Protestant descendant of James I., declared successor to the British throne. She died before the throne was vacant, and in her stead, her son George I., Elector of Hanover, became King of England, retaining, of course, at the same time, his right over Hanover.

Hanover.

At the Congress of Vienna (October 12, 1814), Hanover was erected into a kingdom; the Duke of Cam-

bridge, lieutenant-governor, and a representative government established. In 1816, the Duke of Cambridge was appointed Vice-King of Hanover, and in 1833, in co-operation with the Hanoverian estates, granted a kind of constitution (Staatsgrundgesetz), which, if not what the people wanted, was, nevertheless, a fair beginning. In 1837, William IV., King of England and King of Hanover, died, and was succeeded on the throne of England by Queen Victoria. As females do not inherit the Hanoverian throne, the Kingdom of Hanover, by the death of William IV., was separated from the crown of Great Britain, and Ernst Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, son of George III., brother to William IV., succeeded to the throne of Hanover, as an independent State. The government had been wisely administered by the Duke of Cambridge as vice-king.

The new King Ernst Augustus had hardly been fourteen days in Hanover, when his faithful subjects were awakened from their dreams of progress by a *patent* (July 5, 1837), in which his Majesty abolished their constitution; declared that he would convoke the Chambers whenever he got ready, and would then communicate to them what he intended to do. The patent was followed by another, November 1, 1837, dissolving the Chambers.

As Duke of Cumberland, his debts had amounted to more than a million thalers, and he perpetrated this *coup d'état* principally for the purpose of obtaining the means of satisfying his creditors. The people of Hanover were not in a position to resist. One of the magistrates expressed the general sentiment: "*We Hanoverians must submit. We are only dogs.*"

Seven professors of Göttingen, nearly every one of the

highest scientific rank, publicly protested and declared they acknowledged no power which could release them from their oath to the constitution, and that they should continue to consider themselves bound by it. The brave men were Dahlmann, Albrecht, Jacob Grimm, Wilhelm Grimm, Gervinus, Ewald, Weber. The king ordered them out of Hanover. They left the town, followed by the whole *studentschaft*, with cheers, and other enthusiastic marks of respect and affection. When the king passed along the streets, he was received without greeting.

The Göttinger seven.

Under these circumstances, the reign of Frederic William III. drew toward its close. The nation made no attempt to force political changes, and never withdrew its affectionate regard from the sovereign. In fact, although the restrictions were heavy, contrasted with the freedom enjoyed by some nations, they were light compared with those suffered by the Spaniards, Neapolitans, etc. If judicial proceedings were conducted by written documents, without a jury and without publicity, no one pretended that justice was not administered with impartiality and purity. The tribunals were not accused of bribery or corruption.

Respect of the nation for the King Frederic William III.

Some complaints would astonish the American and English reader. One of the charges against Frederic William III. and his successor, was the "*Vorherrschend religiöse Richtung*,"—that is, their tendency to believe in the doctrines of the Scripture as presented in the creeds and other compendiums of faith adopted by the majority of Protestant churches since the Reformation.

The humiliations which the king had undergone during the reign of Napoleon threw around the old man

a poetic and historic interest, which the Germans were not the people to overlook. Other considerations, also, restrained them from disturbing the last days of the aged monarch. The House of Hohenzollern was popular. It had already produced two of the greatest heroes of modern times. Under its administration, Prussia had steadily risen from an insignificant margraviate to a great European power. She was still rising. The heaviest misfortunes seemed only to extend her dominion and increase her influence. She had been provided with an excellent system of education, and although no popular representation had yet been granted, the government had originated and carried through real reforms as vast and salutary as any republic could have effected. Among them, for example, the Zollverein.

What the king had done for the people.

In June, 1840, the people of Berlin were informed that Frederic William was dying. The manifestations of affectionate grief were striking and universal. Crowds gathered around the palace, standing in perfect silence, or walking slowly backward and forward with noiseless steps, or conversing in a low voice as if their words could yet be heard by the dying king. The Empress of Russia (with the Emperor Nicholas) arrived just in time to bid her father farewell and to receive his blessing. The traveling carriage of Nicholas (there was no railroad to Berlin) appeared white with dust. Several post-horses had been driven to death on the road. Business was suspended. The king had "borne his faculties so meekly, had been so mild in his great office," that everybody loved him. His firm, calm character appeared to the last. He transacted business, assisted by the prince, till

Death of Frederic William III., June 7, 1840.

a very late moment. His soldier-like contempt for minor comforts set a good example. He would not even allow tanner's bark or straw to be laid before his modest palace, although it stood like a common house directly upon the street, and that street one of the noisiest. The use of a pump in an adjoining back street had been forbidden. He observed that the pumping had ceased, inquired the reason, and countermanded the prohibition. After a brief period of insensibility, he revived just before his death, and perceiving that the military band, which usually played at eleven in the morning opposite his windows, had discontinued, he insisted that it should play as usual, expressing a wish that his death might create as little inconvenience as possible, and that all things might go on in their daily and ordinary routine. Bulletins were issued at short intervals, and posted up in all parts of the town. At length, one larger than the rest announced its news from afar by the ominous black border, and the words were repeated through the whole city, with really touching reverence and awe: "*The king is dead!*" He had reigned forty-three years. In person, he was tall and well-formed, his countenance grave and almost stern, but noble, and corresponding to the idea of a monarch and a soldier; his manner gentle, affable, and kind. He looked one of Shakespeare's kings.

Thoughts on Frederic William III.

> "That fair and warlike form
> In which the majesty of buried Denmark
> Did sometime march."

He was a good king and a good man. Like his ancestor, the Great Elector, he was an Evangelical Christian. In his family, which he ruled with firmness tempered by

affection, he was extremely esteemed and beloved. He is accused of having promised a constitution, and broken his promise. His reign was marked by a steady reaction. The American reader will smile at Bishop Eylot's reply to these charges. "The king," he said, "has acted like a wise father, who, on the day of his recovery from a dangerous malady, touched by the love of his children, had promised to grant their wish, but subsequently had found it necessary quietly to modify his promise." Much as this defense has been laughed at, it is not so ridiculous as it at first appears. The bishop was not thinking of the critics, but of the following circumstances: In the reconstruction of Prussia by the Congress of Vienna, that kingdom was so unfairly treated that she considered herself betrayed. She was placed in a weak position, subordinate to Russia, Austria, and France. She had not the power to reject their advice (be it said in passing, it is just this subordinate position from which the late Emperor William I. and Prince Bismarck have delivered her). Alexander and Francis did not wish a representation either for their own countries or for Prussia. Austria had good reasons. Her heterogeneous and antagonistic provinces could not be kept together under a single popular constitution. The Czechs, the Magyars, the Croats, the Slaves, the Italians, the Germans, the Poles, the ignorant peasants, the proud nobles, were not materials out of which to make a House of Commons. Francis was, moreover, a born despot, looking with horror at every movement in the direction of a responsible government; and Metternich, a narrow-minded, selfish courtier, living only for his own pride and pleasure, and trampling upon the people's rights, equally from a sycophantic subserviency to his master and from his own

illiberal instincts. Frederic William was frightened by the revolutions which, after he re-ascended his throne, broke out in Spain, Sardinia, Naples, and afterward in France, Belgium, Poland, etc. The fires of the old French Revolution seemed smoldering under the ground of Europe; and such advisers as Francis, Alexander, Metternich, Gentz, etc., took care to magnify the danger as an insurmountable obstacle in the way of a liberal constitution. Nevertheless, Frederic William was too honest to consider himself released from his promise. He went forward slowly, but he went forward. The law respecting the public debt (1820) was a beginning, and the Provincial Diets (1823) proved to be a much more important move forward than any one at that time thought.

The body of the king was, according to his own desire, removed to the grand Schloss, dressed in his ordinary uniform and half-military cap. The public were admitted to view it. He looked as if sleeping tranquilly. His celebrated statue by Rauch, in the Mausoleum, gives a perfect idea of his appearance. After he had thus been seen by immense crowds, the gates of the Schloss were closed, and the members of the royal family came to take a last look.

He left a will in two parts. One contained a careful survey of the principal acts of his government. In the other, headed "*To my dear Fritz*," the royal father, like David on his death-bed to his son Solomon, gave counsel. He advised him to be on his guard against the spirit of innovation, now so widely and rapidly extending throughout the world. On the other hand, he warned against a too exaggerated preference of what was old. At his request, Gerhardt's hymn: "O Haupt

voll Blut und Wunden," was sung during the funeral ceremony.

Mausoleum.

Among the objects visited by travelers through Berlin is this mausoleum, in the park of Charlottenburg, where lie the remains of Frederic William III. and Queen Louisa.* A somber avenue of cypress leads to the little temple, through whose painted windows the colored light falls upon Rauch's white marble statues of the two royal personages, each on a couch, quietly sleeping the sleep of death. Spectators are always hushed to silence, partly by the beauty of the statues and of the place, and partly by the memory of the renowned scenes through which the two sleepers have passed. When the young king mounted the throne, Europe was yet heaving with the old French Revolution. Napoleon had just risen, and was striding to supreme power. His mighty steps were heard in the battles of Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena. The old Empire and Austria went down at his approach. The Papacy and Italy obeyed his will. The Prussia of the Great Elector and of Frederic the Great was dashed to pieces. The king and

* The reader will, perhaps, be interested by the following incident: Immediately after the early death of Louisa, the king spoke to Bishop Eylert of the emotions which he had experienced on first meeting her in March, 1793. He was twenty-three years of age and crown-prince; she, a young girl of sixteen. "I once," said the king, "read something in Schiller which wonderfully described what both she and I instantly felt at the first sight of each other, as we have often since mutually confessed. It was not a love-sick sentimentality, but a clear, positive consciousness that moistened our eyes with tears of joy. Oh! how much lies between that moment when I first beheld her and this wherein I deplore her loss. I know well that such magnetic feelings are the sweet emotions of first, youthful love; that they come only once, and never return afterward with the same purity; still, I delight to look back upon them, and would much like to read the passage again, but have not been able to find it." The bishop found it in Schiller's "Bride of Messina," in the scene where Don Cæsar describes to his mother and brother the feelings awakened by the first view of his beloved. The splendid passage begins with the line: "*Wie es geschah, frag ich mich selbst vergebens*," etc.

queen scarcely saved themselves by flight to Königsberg. What vivid images rise before us! The terrible conqueror at Tilsit! The broken-hearted death of the young queen! The deep humiliation and grief of the king! Then, Moscow in flames! The grand army buried in the Russian snows! The thunder of cannon! The clash of arms! The glare of burning towns and villages! The battles of Leipsic and Waterloo! The shouts of Germany over her broken chains! How strangely these scenes contrast with the repose of the two sleepers; the solitude; the peace; the silence, interrupted only by the faint roar of the distant city, like the sound of surges breaking on the beach. The walls are inscribed with Scripture passages: "Return into thy rest, O my soul, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee!" etc., etc.

CHAPTER XIX.

FIRST PART OF THE REIGN OF FREDERIC WILLIAM IV., 1840–1848.

THE funeral of Frederic William III. was soon followed by the coronation of his eldest son, Frederic William IV. Generous, noble, distinguished by genius and culture, he was universally esteemed and beloved. The nation regarded him as a reformer, and his advent was hailed not only from the affection he had already inspired, but from the confidence that he could, and would, now fairly perform the promise of his father. All the Prussian secret societies, revolutionary festivals, student revolts, since the Congress of Vienna, had risen from discontent at the delay on this point. The nation had waited patiently, in the hope that, although Frederic William III. was too old, and too accustomed to the old system to make a change, his successor would at length accord a real representative system. He was the Moses to lead the people out of Egypt. He was to inaugurate a new epoch; to undo the work of Metternich, Gentz, and Talleyrand; to pitch overboard the Treaties of Vienna and the detested old Bundestag; to give a popular constitution, responsible ministers, jury-trial, a German parliament, the inviolability of private letters; reduction of the army; unlimited freedom of the press; the right of public association, and the arming of the people. The new king had thus before him a difficult task.

What the nation expected from the new king.

Coronation at Königsberg, 1840.

He first repaired to Königsberg, where he was crowned, and where he received the Huldigung (homage) of the provinces of East and West Prussia, and Posen, not at that time a part of the German Confederation. The Huldigung is the oath of fealty sworn by the tenant, or subjects, through their estates, to their lord or sovereign. An ominous circumstance occurred on this occasion at Königsberg. The Landtags of the provinces, Prussia and Posen, convoked to offer the Huldigung to the king, by an almost unanimous vote, presented a petition for a national constitution. The answer, communicated in writing, was courteous and friendly, but not what the petitioners hoped. It promised the development of the existing provincial Landtags.

Public entry of the king into Berlin, September 21, 1840.

The ceremony of the Huldigung in Berlin was arranged to take place after the coronation at Königsberg. The king, on his return, was to make a public entry into Berlin; there, with great pomp, to receive the Huldigung of the other provinces of his kingdom, represented by the Provincial Assemblies. Every effort was made to clothe this ceremony with the most imposing splendor. It was to recall the glory of the Imperial elections and the grand coronations of the old Empire. The king and queen were to enter at a remote extremity of the city. The procession was to traverse the Königsstrasse, and to reach the royal palace (Schloss) by the bridge, where stands the equestrian statue of the Great Elector. At some points, it had been necessary to widen the street. On the 21st September, nearly the entire population of Berlin, including a large addition of strangers, assembled in those streets through which the king was to pass.

The central point of interest was the Schlossplatz, the broad square before the palace, and the streets radiating from it. Here the crowd was immense. Every disposable inch at the windows, and on the roofs and balconies in the square, was occupied. Houses had been unroofed to accommodate spectators willing to pay any price for a good view. Wagon-loads of flowers, wreaths, flags, garlands, had been brought the previous day in profusion, and rich crimson carpets and bright-colored cloths were hung out at every possible point, presenting a gorgeous appearance. The Schloss roof was crowded, and at the windows and balconies appeared, in splendid uniforms, princes and nobles, members of the court; the *corps diplomatique*, representing all the great powers of the world; distinguished officers, strangers, and ladies with magnificent toilets, waiting the royal cortège.

About five in the afternoon, the procession arrived. It consisted of nine thousand persons. First came the butchers, the brewers, the bakers, the shoemakers, etc., all mounted; at last, announced by a full band of music, the king on horseback, surrounded by his brothers and other royal princes, followed by the rest of the procession, consisting of fifty-two trades, with scarfs, banners, and music. The appearance of the king was graceful and imposing. As, upon his superb charger, he advanced alone over the bridge of the Great Elector into the presence of the dense multitude in the Schlossplatz, he appeared like a favorite actor before an audience transported with delight. Long and deafening acclamations greeted him. Flowers and wreaths were thrown down and strewed before his horse's hoofs. Handkerchiefs and scarfs waved from windows, balconies, walls, house-roofs. The king, as he rode on, replied with affability and emotion

to this mighty welcome. It seemed one of Shakespeare's scenes:

> "Then, as I said, the Duke, great Bolingbroke,
> Mounted upon a hot and fiery steed,
> Which his aspiring rider seem'd to know,
> With slow, but stately pace, kept on his course,
> While all tongues cried: God save thee, Bolingbroke!
> You would have thought the very windows spoke.
> So many greedy looks of young and old,
> Through casements darted their desiring eyes
> Upon his visage: and that all the walls
> With painted imag'ry had said at once,
> Jesu preserve thee! welcome Bolingbroke.
> Whilst he, from one side to the other turning,
> Bareheaded, lower than his proud steed's neck,
> Bespoke them thus: 'I thank you, countrymen;'
> And thus still doing, thus he passed along."

In the evening, there was a magnificent illumination, favored by a calm, dark sky, without the least wind. Every thing seemed formed of light. The city looked like a fairy world; the houses of old Blücher; that of Count Nostitz, who saved Blücher's life at Ligny; the palace of the Princess Pückler-Muskau (daughter of Prince Hardenberg), however plain by daylight, now shone in all the luminous glory of enchanted palaces. The most striking object was the colossal bronze figure of Victory, in her car, driven by four fiery horses, on the Brandenburg gate. This group was also invested with historical meaning. After the battle of Jena, Napoleon had sent it to Paris. On his downfall, it had been restored, and now, strongly illuminated by concealed lamps, appeared to shine by an emanation of its own, as if the radiant goddess herself, after her long absence, had descended again to bless the Prussian people.

We describe this scene, because it receives a strange

interest from subsequent events. A few years passed, and one hundred thousand people, in a very different spirit, thronged the same streets. Instead of scaffoldings for applauding spectators, were barricades flowing with blood; instead of fairy illumination in honor and love, the glare of burning houses and the flashes of cannon and musketry directed by king and people against each other. Instead of wagon-loads of flowers, wagon-loads of dead bodies.

Huldigung.

On October 15, the ceremony of the Huldigung took place in Berlin. One hundred and twenty thousand people assembled again in the Lustgarten and the Linden. Most of these were visible at one glance. A stately tribune had been erected on the outside of the Schloss, reaching to the second story, and fronting the Lustgarten, richly gilt, covered with scarlet cloth, and hung with drapery of the same color. A broad flight of steps ascended from the ground. Upon it was a throne of crimson velvet and a golden crown.

The king had first attended public worship in the Dom church, at the east side of the square. On issuing from the church, followed by a numerous suite, he walked slowly to the tribune. As he mounted the steps, his back being turned toward the vast multitude, he was not immediately recognized. Irregular shouts burst forth, first in one place, and then in another; but when he had mounted the last step, his suite had retired, and his brothers had passed behind, he stood quite alone on the highest step of the tribune, and turned his face to the crowd. Then burst forth a simultaneous shout, such as few have ever heard since the taking of Jericho. It was a nation hailing its chief.* The king himself was deeply

* The writer stood upon the tribune, near the king.

affected, and bowed low. He then bowed to the persons on each side of the tribune, and entered the Schloss.

The ceremony had been performed in two acts. First, the king received the Huldigung of the nobility and clergy in the interior of the Schloss, and then that of the other representatives of the nation on the outside. On both occasions, he made a short speech; but nothing was said of a constitution. Indeed, a royal rescript, October 4, had denied the reports that he intended immediately to accord one.

Every thoughtful observer, not blinded by party spirit, felt that the king was here committing an error, and entering upon a danger.

In the evening, there was another illumination. This time the scene had changed. A heavy rain and a high wind extinguished half the lights. Long rows of lamps, of which only here and there one remained lighted; stars, letters, circles, devices, all black and desolate; garlands, wreaths, and flowers, broken and drenched, were all that could be seen by the few dismal people in overshoes, who waded through the mud, half hidden under heavy cloaks and umbrellas. After several efforts to illuminate the car of Victory, over the Brandenburg gate, the attempt was abandoned. Every thing marked a total failure and a general disappointment.

First measures of Frederic William IV.

The first measures of Frederic William IV. corresponded to the hopes of the nation. He declared an amnesty for all political offenses. He restored to his professorship at Bonn, the poet Arndt (suspended in 1819, on the charge of demagogism). The two brothers, Grimm (of the Göttinger seven), who had so nobly resisted the violation of the Hanoverian constitution, were called to Berlin. He

re-appointed General von Boyen, Minister of War, and Eichhorn, Minister of Public Worship. No doubt, had William von Humboldt and Stein lived, they would have been called to high places. Other liberal men were brought into the government. The provincial Landtags received greater freedom, by which they profited to discuss with a boldness, till then unknown in Prussia, questions concerning the liberty of the press, national representation, etc. The quarrel with Rome, on the subject of mixed marriages, was treated in a conciliatory spirit. The archbishops, Dunin and Droste, were pardoned, and released from prison. The Lutherans petitioned to be allowed to worship in their own way, and their petition was granted. He invited to Berlin the most distinguished representatives of art and science: Schelling, Rückert, Cornelius, Tieck, Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (Felix), etc. He used every effort to perfect the Zollverein, as one of the means of uniting Germany. The penal law was revised. The prison system was improved, and also other departments. Instead of the old, laborious documentary writings in courts of law, verbal proceedings were introduced, experimentally, in some cases. The great teacher of Roman law, Savigny, freed legal proceedings from many antiquated, useless forms. King Frederic William thus moved Prussia perceptibly forward. All these things the king did, but he did not give the promised constitution.

State of Prussia, 1840-1843.

A German writer thus describes the state of Prussia: "From 1840–1843.—Capital was abundant; the country prosperous; manufactures in full activity; the finances carefully administered, and the treasury so full that in March, 1842, the king was enabled to reduce the interest of the public

debt from four to three and a half per cent.; to diminish the taxes two million thalers; to apply considerable sums for the erection of national buildings,—among others, to the completion of the Cathedral of Cologne."

This prosperity did not last long.

Dissatisfaction with the king.

Two parties now united to form a powerful opposition; one, the Constitutional party; the other, the party of Freethinkers. The king, like his father, was a believer in Christianity. Upon the exterior of the new chapel, which, in the form of a dome (a great ornament to the city), he had erected on the roof of the royal Schloss, at Berlin, he caused to be placed the inscription, which still remains: "*Ich aber und mein Haus wollen dem Herrn dienen.*" ("But as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord.") This was a reply of the king to a considerable part of the nation, who had openly proclaimed their dissatisfaction with his religious faith. It meant: "*You may abandon Christianity if you will; but, as for me, I will remain at my post.*"

The king believed that the Constitutional party aimed at the destruction both of religion and of the monarchy. Both his father and himself remained, more or less, under the impression of the French Revolution, and saw, under the most reasonable demands, the dangerous innovations of a Necker, or the specious mistakes of a Vergniaud. It had been Necker, in fact, who gave the greatest impulse to the French Revolution, by according to the third estate as many delegates as were allowed to the clergy and nobles combined. Every American in Europe must have observed how the wagon-drivers put a drag upon the wheel, even where there is scarcely any descent; whereas, in America, many drivers go down all the hills

without any drag at all. The king wanted, in some points of the road, to put on a drag where it was not really necessary. The opposition had many bigoted enemies of Christianity, who wished to transform the monarchy into an atheistical republic. The king desired to do what was right, and in his immediate circle was a minority of sensible men, who knew that the time had come for a change. There was also a large party in the opposition, who desired to preserve the monarchy, who esteemed the king personally, and who wished only those reforms which were obviously just.

The king would have been more ready to adopt a reform, if the opposition had approached him without insult. Heinrich Heine* may be cited as a specimen. He called the king, a—

"Mittelding
Das weder Fleisch noch Fisch ist,
Und von den Extremen unsrer Zeit
Ein närrisches Gemisch ist."

("A middle thing, which neither flesh nor fish is; and of the extremes of our day, a curious, stupid mixture is.")

A wise counselor would have advised the king to pay no attention to such insults. But he was unaccustomed to public insult, and could not pass it over with indifference. He did not know that the largest and best portion of the Prussian people thought the time for a liberal constitution had come.

Immediately on his accession, he had, as we have

* A German writer says of Heine: "His earlier poems present a union of beauty, grace, love, joy, pain, and tender sensibility; his later, merciless satire, and mockery of every thing noble and holy." We may add, that in his last years of long illness, he said: "I have returned back to God like the prodigal son, after having kept swine with the Hegelians for some time!"

seen, relaxed the censorship. The censors were commanded to perform their duty in a larger and more reasonable way, and not to oppose the free expressions of honest opinions. But the press was at last used so bitterly against him that, in March, 1841, he went back to severe laws. Official persons, under the penalty of dismissal from office, were forbidden to print any thing upon public affairs. Foreign newspapers, and all books from certain publishing houses, were prohibited. The concession was withdrawn from various Prussian journals. On the other hand, works over twenty sheets were free. Where there was a book or newspaper printing establishment, an officer of the government was appointed, before whom the law required to be laid all matter to be printed, even visiting cards. This officer drew his pen through every page, column, and word which he thought improper for the perusal of the German people. Even the Chamber debates of such German States as had a form of national representation were subject to these erasures, and a manuscript or proof-sheet was required, before publication, to be laid before the censor.

Press laws, 1841.

In 1842, an anonymous pamphlet appeared, entitled: "Four Questions." It was a stern and bold attack upon the royal government, demonstrating the people's right to demand a constitution.

Dr. Jacobi, 1842.

The author, Dr. Jacobi, was indicted for contempt of the law. The punishment, two and a half years' imprisonment in a fortress, was, however, remitted by the superior tribunal.

Dr. Jacobi was an Israelitish physician. He remained to the end of his life an unflinching enemy of absolutism. He published several other violent and able pamphlets:

"Prussia in 1845"; another, "The Royal Promise of Frederic William III.," etc. He took a prominent part in all the subsequent complications. The "Four Questions" had no other effect upon the king than to widen the distance between him and the Constitutional party.

Third Centennial Anniversary of the University of Königsberg, August, 1844.

The University of Königsberg, in August, 1844, celebrated the third Centennial Anniversary since its foundation. Here the speakers expressed the dissatisfaction and impatience of certain portions of the public upon questions of politics and religion.

Mieroslawski in Poland, 1846.

The public mind was still more excited by an attempted revolution in Posen, led by Mieroslawski, one of the revolutionary agents of the Polish emigration in Paris. It had been supported by a wide-spread, formidable conspiracy. The Prussian government suppressed it; a number of the leaders, and among them Mieroslawski, were imprisoned. These men waited a year for their trial; until the French revolution of February, 1848.

Question of constitution.

We have seen that on the occasion of the Huldigung at Königsberg, the Landtags of the provinces, Prussia and Posen, had petitioned for a national constitution, and received a courteous but negative answer. Petitions of the same kind were frequently presented during the subsequent years. The City of Breslau petitioned, October 13, 1841. Refused. The Posen Landtag, in 1843, sent a deputation, with a petition, to Berlin. Refused. To the Posen deputation, the king made a few remarks. He said, the law of his father was not necessarily binding on him. Even if it were, the position had been changed by the subsequent creation of the Provincial Assemblies.

Committees of the Provincial Assemblies summoned to Berlin, October 18, 1842.

In October, 1842, *committees* of the Provincial Assemblies were, for the first time, summoned to Berlin. They were not, however, invited to take any part in the government. The king had summoned them merely for the purpose of requesting their opinion upon such subjects as he thought proper to present to them.

Provincial Assemblies, 1845.

The Provincial Assemblies were convoked, each in its respective province, February 9, 1845. They attracted universal attention from the number of petitions directed to them, particularly from the Rheinprovince, and from the provinces of Westphalia and Silesia, urging them to demand a *landständische Verfassung* (representative constitution); freedom of the press; publicity and oral proceedings in all judicial affairs; independence of the judges; a better election law; freer church constitution; a better system of taxation; publicity of proceedings in the Provincial Assemblies; emancipation of the Jews. These petitions were very freely discussed in the different Assemblies.

The Press.

The degree of liberty accorded to the press continued to be used with such increasing hatred of the king, that the reaction party loudly called for and obtained a still severer press law for newspapers and pamphlets. Works above twenty sheets, however, continued to be free; and, July 1, 1843, a superior tribunal, composed of distinguished savants and jurists, was created as a court of appeal for press offenses.

The dissatisfaction of the people began to manifest itself in public meetings; particularly in those parts of the kingdom distinguished by freedom of religious opin-

ion. In this movement, Königsberg led the way. A regularly organized society in that city, consisting of seven hundred members, was, April 28, suppressed by the police. Other societies were formed in different places. In July, a decree was issued prohibiting public speaking on political subjects.

Public meetings.

In 1844, the king held a splendid review. The crowds saw him mounted upon one of his finest horses, passing in review his magnificent troops; the very image of earthly prosperity and power. During the whole day, a resolute assassin was dogging him wherever he went. The ruffian could obtain no opportunity till the afternoon, when, as the king was seated in his carriage with the queen at his side, he discharged, one after the other, two heavily loaded pistols. A ball passed through the side of the carriage, near the queen's head. The other grazed the king's breast, so that it was necessary to dress the wound. The king offered a pardon, if the assassin would recognize the criminality of his act, and ask for mercy. The man refused, and was beheaded. After his execution, the queen benevolently supported the criminal's little daughter.

Attempted assassination of the king, July 26, 1844.

A most indiscreet step was taken by the royal ministry, May, 1845. Hecker and Itzstein, members of the Second Chamber in the Grand Duchy of Baden, distinguished as champions of progress, were arrested on a tour to Berlin, and expelled from the Prussian territory. The king was not opposed to reforms, but he would not have them forced upon him. We thus find him sometimes moving forward with enthusiasm, and sometimes starting back with alarm. His wisest course would have been to enter care-

Hecker and Itzstein, May, 1845.

fully, but really, upon a new path, and to place himself at the head of the party aiming at a united constitutional Germany. It would have been a difficult and dangerous thing to do, but not so dangerous as what he did. In fact, he pursued neither one course nor the other. The revolutionary hurricane which, in 1848, swept through Europe, found him unprepared in his mind, either to surrender some of his royal prerogatives, or to support them by military force; hence his fluctuations between constitutionalism and absolutism. The Berlinians signified their displeasure at the unsteadiness of his policy, by a *jeu d'esprit*. The Emperor of Russia had presented two magnificent bronze horses; one, in the act of springing forward, is held back by a groom; the other, shying backward, is advanced by another groom. These horses (yet standing at the north portal of the Berlin Schloss) were named by the people: *Fortschreitender Rückschritt* and *Rückschreitender Fortschritt*. (Forward-striding reaction and back-retreating progress!)

Other subjects of discontent.

Other subjects of discontent arose. A winter of extraordinary severity, 1844–1845; wide-spread inundations and a general bad harvest occasioned great distress among the poorer classes, and increased the agitation, which had already begun to show itself among the workmen in some of the great cities. The authorities were alarmed by the indications of discontent in Berlin, Danzig, Düsseldorf, Breslau, Thorn. In Silesia, riots broke out among the weavers, in consequence of want of food. The tumults were suppressed only by military force. From this time the proletariat (the fourth estate) began to be prominent. Speculators swept over the country, ruining thousands. In Stuttgart, popular insurrections were often suppressed.

only by troops. The wealthy strove, by great sacrifices, to relieve the general distress, and a good harvest aided their endeavors. But these were only palliatives. Thousands emigrated to the United States; but thousands were too poor to seek that refuge. At no previous point of Prussian history had the danger of a socialistic uprising appeared so threatening. Busy tongues and pens explained the distress of the country, the scarcity of food and the bad harvest, by the fact that the king had refused a constitution, and many of the people believed that when their orators and writers should succeed in obtaining a free parliament, the country would become a garden of prosperity. They were enraged that so many other European countries, even so many other German States, had obtained representative Assemblies, while Prussia remained in leading-strings.

Railroads.

The railroads now began rapidly to increase in Prussia, but the efforts of the speculators and sharpers to get them into their own hands, compelled the government to intervene.

Turnanstalten.

The Turnanstalten, forbidden in 1819, were restored by Frederic William IV.

Lola Montez, 1847 and 1848.

Louis I., King of Bavaria, wasted the public treasure upon a beautiful and pretty thoroughly emancipated young Scotch woman, a ballet dancer, who had passed by various names—Miss Gilbert, Countess Lola Montez, etc. For a time, this lady disposed of public offices, and exercised the power of government, with a freedom which recalled Pompadour and du Barré. In Berlin, for striking a *gendarme* with a horsewhip, and treating with contempt the summons of a police tribunal, she was condemned to imprisonment for several years in a fortress, but was pardoned.

At Munich, the King of Bavaria bestowed upon her the title, Countess of Landsfeld, with great privileges, and created her a Bavarian subject. This caused so much dissatisfaction that (February, 1847) the Minister Abel resigned. Insurrections in Munich, 1848, partly excited by her presence, caused her to fly. King Louis, shortly after her flight, abdicated in favor of his son, Maximilian. Lola Montez is well known in the United States. As a dancer (1853), she drew immense crowds in San Francisco. Her short episode in Bavaria increased the dissatisfaction and agitation of the public mind.

Sonderbund war in Switzerland, 1846.

The Sonderbund war broke out in Switzerland in 1846. It was not only a war between democracy and aristocracy, but between Protestantism and Catholicism. It was brought on by a law, 1839, the object of which was to make the education of children independent of the Catholic clergy. Violent dissensions broke out. A demand by the Jesuits that all the schools of the Catholic provinces should be placed exclusively in their hands, was resisted by the Protestant cantons. The seven Catholic cantons: Lucerne, Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, Freiburg, Zug, and Valais, determined to carry their point by force, and formed a separate league, called the Sonderbund. The members of this league bound themselves to give the schools into the hands of the Jesuits. An insurrection took place. The Federal Diet prepared to suppress the Sonderbund as illegal, and expelled the Jesuits from Switzerland. A civil war broke out. The Federal Diet had an army of one hundred thousand men, under General Dufour. The force of the Sonderbund amounted to thirty-six thousand regular troops, with a Landsturm of forty-seven thousand. A battle took place, November 23, 1846, at Gislicon

(canton of Lucerne). The Sonderbund army was routed; the council of war, the government of Lucerne, and the Jesuits fled. The seven cantons submitted, and by the masterly military skill, energy, and prudence of General Dufour, peace was restored, with little bloodshed.

The course pursued by France, Austria, and Prussia, with regard to this Sonderbund war, increased the hatred of the revolutionary party in Europe. These three powers supported the pretensions of the Sonderbund, sent a joint note to Switzerland, demanding that the Federal troops should evacuate the Sonderbund cantons, and agreed upon a plan of intervention. They, moreover, demanded that no change should be made in the Federal Constitution of Switzerland (Constitution of 1815), except with the consent of all the cantons. The courier of the French government, with dispatches to the Sonderbund communicating these demands, was sent to Lucerne. He arrived at that town just after the battle of Gislicon, and found the Sonderbund blown up and the Jesuits vanished.

The part which Louis Philippe took in this matter was never forgiven by the French people, and precipitated the downfall of the citizen king. The Prussians, also, complained that their king not only refused reforms at home, but opposed them abroad.

The two above-mentioned incidents, the episode of Lola Montez and the Sonderbund war, offered a good opportunity for professional revolution-makers to place the monarchical principle in an unfavorable light.

At the commencement of 1847, there was a general belief that the long-promised constitution was about to be accorded. On February 3, 1847, appeared a royal patent, as follows: "The king, in conformity with the

law of January 17, 1820, of his father, Frederic William III. (*Staatsschuldengesetz*), and with the law creating the Provincial Assemblies, June 5, 1823, had decided that the Provincial Diets should be assembled in a united Landtag as often as the State should require new loans, or the introduction of new, or the abolition of old, taxes. Moreover, united standing committees of these assemblies should be periodically convoked. The United Provincial Assemblies, or, in their absence, the united standing committees, should have, among others, the right of petition with regard, not only to provincial affairs, but over general interior affairs in the kingdom. The said united Landtag should be convoked on the occasions above mentioned, or whenever the king should think proper. It was to consist of two Houses—the House of Lords, represented by the royal princes, higher nobility, and other members to be chosen by the king; and of a House of Commons, consisting of deputies from the nobility, the city, and communes. The two Houses should meet in joint session on the discussion of State loans or changes in the taxes. In all other cases their debates should be separate.

United Provincial Assemblies, 1847.

The joint committees of the united Landtag, invested with all the authority of the united Landtag itself, except that of voting the taxes, and except the right of petition in affairs of the constitution, should be convoked at least every four years.

Finally, eight members, to be elected from the united Landtag as a committee with regard to the administration of the public debt, should be annually convoked by the Minister of the Interior. The king thought he had here honestly fulfilled all the royal promises of a liberal constitution.

This patent, however, was received by the nation with general dissatisfaction. The royalists thought it too free; the constitutionalists, too aristocratic.

Disappointment of the nation.

A cabinet order, of February 8, convoked the united Landtag to meet for the first time, April 11, 1847, in Berlin. In the period from the date of the cabinet order to the day when the Landtag met, a series of important new liberal laws were decreed. Among them, one gave greater religious freedom; another, publicity to the proceedings of the courts of justice, both civil and criminal, and allowed every male Prussian subject to be present. Another, and this was regarded as an immense concession, allowed a full stenographic report to be published of the proceedings of the united Landtag. Even the name of the Speaker was allowed to be published. What would the American or English people say, if the law forbade the publication of the speeches, or of the names of Webster, Sumner, Clay, Gladstone, Peel, D'Israeli. The king himself named the marshal and vice-marshal of each House.

New concessions.

The united Landtag met for the first time in the royal Schloss. It was opened by the king in person, with a speech substantially as follows: "The representative system in Prussia had, till now, been without a central point. The creation of the standing committees had been considered insufficient. This insufficiency could not be remedied by an artificial, arbitrary representative Assembly, but by a united Landtag, naturally composed of the Provincial Diets, and invested, not only with the right accorded by the law of 1820,* but also the right of

First meeting of the united Landtag, April 11, 1847.

* The Staatsschuldengesetz (law with regard to the public debt), January 17,

voting taxes within necessary limits. It was," he said, "his intention frequently to convoke the united Landtag, if the present Assembly should prove to him *that he might do so without the danger of violating the duties of a sovereign. Prussia could never bear a manufactured constitution, and nothing could ever induce him to transform the natural relation between prince and people into a constitutional system, in which a bit of paper should intrude itself between God and the country, and govern by its paragraphs; substituting itself in the place of the old loyalty.*" (He meant a constitution is not necessary between an affectionate father and his children.)

The allusion to "a bit of paper" startled the whole nation. It was a most unfortunate expression, and at a most inopportune moment.

Proceedings of the united Landtag, April 11, 1847.

An answer to the king's speech was immediately voted by the united Landtag. It was respectful, but firm, and must have astonished the king, coming, as it did, from an assembly so constituted. It asked the king himself to say whether the royal patent (February 3, 1847), by which the present Assembly had been called, could be considered an accomplishment of the previous promises.

The king's reply was guarded. He began to discover that his opponent was the Prussian nation, and, like a prudent fencer, made his movements with care. He declared he could not admit other rights than those implied in the law of February 3, 1847, which, if properly understood, could not be a just cause of complaint, as it was capable of development. He promised serious attention to every proposition having that object, and closed

1820, by which King Frederic William III. declared that the Prussian government would hereafter contract no debt without the consent of the future representative Assembly.

with the information that he would again convoke the united Landtag within four years. The reply was as skillful as the question. If the law of February 3 was to be taken in a fair, liberal sense, and was to be so developed, any thing might be made of it

The proceedings of the Landtag had no sooner commenced, than a firm, liberal opposition made itself felt. A proposal of the government, with regard to the finances, was rejected, on the ground that the Landtag did not possess a clear enough knowledge of the state of the public finances. A resolution was passed in the Second Chamber to present to the king a petition, containing the following requests: First, that he would order the convocation of the Landtag every two years, instead of every four, by which the standing committees should be terminated. Secondly, that the State should not undertake any guarantee with regard to the public debt without the consent of the united Landtag. Thirdly, that the Landtag should decide with regard to all laws on taxes. Fourthly, that the crown should be requested to give a declaration upon the state of the domains and regalia (that is, the crown lands and the royal rights and prerogatives). Fifthly, that the laws of the constitution should not be altered without the consent of the united Landtag. A demand of the government for a loan of thirty-two millions for a railroad was rejected, but a resolution passed that the subject should be laid before the next united Landtag. A law, proposed by the government, with regard to an income tax, was rejected. A proposition that the Jews should be eligible to the Landtag was rejected, but their eligibility to other offices accorded. Even by the House of Lords, some changes were proposed. It declared itself in favor of the periodicity of the Landtag.

To the various petitions above mentioned, the king replied (June 24, 1847), in two royal messages, one to each House. He claimed for himself the right to decide these questions. He agreed that the public debt should not be increased without the consent of the Landtag; but denied the right of meddling with the debt contracted by the Administration. The five petitions, with regard to the modification of the February patent, were received graciously. The standing committees should meet every four years; but periodicity to the Landtag, for the present, was refused. A message immediately followed, by which the united Landtag was closed.

Bismarck in the Landtag, April, 1847.

Bismarck (thirty-two years of age) first appeared to the world in this Landtag. The Assembly had believed itself convoked to receive the long-promised constitution. It had been just informed by the king of his intention never to grant one. It was prepared to reiterate its demand, when an unknown young nobleman rose to speak; and strange, indeed, his words must have sounded to his hearers. What he said in several speeches, was, in substance, as follows: "I represent ideas generally branded as belonging to the dark ages, and which, a speaker has declared, are opposed by the intelligent part of the German nation. I desire to maintain the Prussian monarchy in its present form. I deny that the people have any right or reason to demand a more liberal constitution than they now possess. It would be dangerous to transfer English political institutions to a country like Prussia, which has undergone so different a historical development. It is true, the Prussian people fought bravely and successfully in the war of liberation (1813); but you calumniate them when you say they fought for any other reward

than the glory and blessing of victory. Prussia was trampled on and enslaved by an insolent foreign tyrant. Did the people make a bargain with their sovereign, and ask to be paid for breaking their chains?" etc., etc.

Here he was interrupted by a storm of cries and hisses, which made it impossible for him to proceed. After several vain attempts, he drew a morning newspaper from his pocket and, leaning back in a comfortable standing position, read it as quietly as if he had been in his own study, till the President of the Assembly had restored some degree of order. He then spoke further, amid hisses and some applause.

He took an equally independent stand on another point. One of the charges made against the king was, that he was *strenggläubig* (that is, he *literally* believed in the Gospel). A vast ocean current of unbelief is now sweeping around the globe, and all the Christian nations are more or less under its influence; Germany with the rest. The House of Hohenzollern, with some exceptions, has withstood this current; for instance: the Great Elector, Frederic William I., Frederic William III., Frederic William IV., and the late Emperor, William I. In no country does the Divine primeval Gospel stand on a more solid foundation than in Germany; but nowhere have learned and gifted men, under the intoxicating influence of scientific discovery, and of the freedom of thought consequent upon the Reformation, made greater efforts to overthrow it. The authority of their name has drawn after them numbers who, without examination, have learned to regard it as a fable. Bismarck was not to be drawn away by the mere authority of any man or class. "You heard, yesterday," he said, in one of his speeches, "from a member of this Assembly, that the

Christian state is nothing more than a fiction of modern theorists. I deny that assertion. The Christian state is as old as the Holy Roman Empire. Christianity is the solid basis of Prussia; and no State erected upon any other foundation can permanently exist. For myself," he added, almost in the words of Luther, before another Diet, "I can recognize, as the will of God, only what is revealed in the Gospels; and I call only that a Christian state, the object of which is to realize the principles of Christianity."

Bismarck, after more years and experience, modified his political opinion; but has invariably reiterated his opinion on Christianity.

We see in him, at this time, so to speak, the stuff, the raw material, out of which was being formed one of the greatest statesmen of history. He stood in his place almost alone, strong, stern, independent, conscious of his power, regardless of ridicule and danger, a stern warrior, a Charlemagne or Barbarossa, armed *cap-a-pie*, and at the very beginning of his career he threw down his gauntlet to all opponents of his king, and of his God. It is curious to note the historic moment of his appearance. As Napoleon rose when the cup of the old Empire was full, so Bismarck, when the hour of the new Empire had come. It was an epoch about half-way between the two empires, and at the breaking out of the revolutions of 1848, which overthrew the Europe of Metternich, and of the Congress of Vienna, and effected as great political changes as had ever before taken place in the same period of time. The result was a new Europe, raised upon the ruins of the old Austria and the old France; at the head of which the new German Empire now stands. This vast transformation, an outline of

which we are now about to sketch, was accomplished under God by three men: the Emperor William I., Bismarck, and Moltke.

Effect of the united Landtag.

The united Landtag, it has been said, accomplished nothing. In fact, it accomplished much. By its very appearance, it concentrated the national attention upon the point of a representative system. By its unpopular organization, it showed the people more clearly, by contrast, what a different organization they wanted. It, moreover, contained many distinguished and enlightened men; neither tainted by atheism nor suspected of socialism or revolution, who urged the right of the nation to a large and a real reform. There was something, moreover, imposing by its novelty in a parliamentary assembly, invested even with such a shadow of a representation. It recalled not only the old Imperial Diets of the Empire, but the Parliament of England and the Congress of the United States. The first session of the united Landtag had two important consequences. It increased the determination of the nation to obtain a broader representation, and it undoubtedly exercised an important influence on the king's mind, convincing him of what he had never before believed: that the desire for a national representation had not proceeded merely from a small circle of revolutionists, but from the nation.

Distress of the poorer classes.

Two very bad harvests again raised the prices, and increased the distress of the poorer classes. In Upper Silesia, a famine occasioned heart-rending scenes. A deadly epidemic was the consequence, and added to the affliction. Sorrow and alarm prevailed over the whole kingdom. A socialistic literature seized the opportunity, and, in defiance of the

police, attacked the government, and fanned the hatred of the poor against the rich. Riots broke out in various quarters, including Berlin. The government, king, and upper classes benevolently endeavored to remedy the evil. Many families were supported. The exportation of various articles was forbidden.

The standing committees, January 17, 1848.

The standing committees elected by the united Landtag, which, contrary to the petition of the Second Chamber, had been maintained by the king, met again in Berlin, January 17, 1848, to examine the new penal law, which, on account of its severity, was unpopular.

This was the state of Prussia, when she was suddenly startled by the news that a complete revolution had taken place in Paris. Louis Philippe had abdicated, and was flying to England under the name of Mr. Smith.

As the astounding particulars became better known, the public excitement rose to an extraordinary height. The first concession of the king (March 8), under the pressure of it, was a declaration that the periodicity already granted to the standing committees should be extended to the united Landtag itself, which would now meet every four years. This periodicity was granted at the request of the Prince of Prussia (the late Emperor, William I.). At the same time, the session of the standing committees was closed. Their last act was a resolution requesting the king, that the newly-proposed penal law should not receive the assent of his Majesty until it should be once more laid before the united Landtag. We must now leave Prussia for awhile, to see what that revolution in Paris was, which broke upon Frederic William so inopportunely, at the most dangerous moment of his reign.

CHAPTER XX.

THE REACTION IN FRANCE.

LOUIS XVIII.—CHARLES X.—FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1830—LOUIS PHILIPPE.

THE German, as well as the French revolution of 1848, will be better understood after a glance into French affairs from the Congress of Vienna; and a more particular account of the French revolutions of 1830 and 1848. On mounting the throne, Louis XVIII., after his banishment of twenty-three years, found France discontented and agitated. He was old, infirm, and surrounded by bad advisers: Talleyrand, Artois, Fouché, his first minister, Blacas, etc. Beset by Ultra-royalists, Ultra-liberals, Ultramontanes, he knew not what to do. The Royalists wanted to replace France where she had been before the Revolution, and the Constitutionalists, to carry the ideas of the Revolution into operation. Riots broke out. Vengeance and avarice filled the breasts of thousands. Royalists and Roman Catholic mobs perpetrated atrocious crimes. The old man tried in vain to remedy the evils; became disgusted with the government, and fell back upon his oysters and Saint Péray. The Parisians, instead of *Louis dix-huit*, called him *Louis des huîtres!* Even in this enjoyment, he was suddenly interrupted. The episode of the Hundred Days took place before he had been a year on his throne.

At the conclusion of that episode, a wise sovereign

would have granted an amnesty. Louis, no doubt, would also have done so; but Artois and the rest thought differently. So, the final suppression of Napoleonism was celebrated by two executions. Labédoyère, the first who had joined Napoleon after Elba, was tried by court-martial and shot.

Labédoyère.

Ney was the next. On the first fall of Napoleon, he had presented himself to Louis, who loaded him with honors, and made him commander of nearly the whole French cavalry. On the return of Napoleon from Elba, Ney told the king he would bring the invader to him, "like Bajazet, in an iron cage"; but, as the Emperor advanced to Lyons and the enthusiasm spread, Ney, as already related, yielded to the contagion, went over to his ancient chief, and fought at Waterloo. After the battle, he fled, was pursued, arrested, brought to Paris, tried by the Chamber of Peers, consisting mostly of his personal enemies, and condemned to death. After a heart-rending interview of two hours with his wife and sons, he was led to execution. At one end of the Luxembourg garden, the troops were drawn up. The "bravest of the brave" placed himself in their front, and with his right hand indicating his heart, cried: "Fellow-soldiers! Aim here! *Vive la France!*" The next moment he was a corpse.

Ney.

Louis had granted a charter, in many respects liberal, but neutralized by one paragraph, which clothed the king with the exclusive right to issue the decrees necessary for the execution of the laws. It provided a hereditary Chamber of Peers, to be named by the king, and a Chamber of Deputies. It had been given upon the advice of Alexander and Talleyrand, who thought the French could not be

The charter, June 4, 1814.

governed without, at least, the appearance of a representative system.

Louis soon got rid of Talleyrand, Fouché, and Blacas, and appointed, as prime minister, the Duke de Richelieu, an enlightened statesman, who endeavored, in vain, to prevent the abominations of the Ultra-royalists. The charter was found, however, to be of little use except to the Reactionary party. The Royalists and Ultramontanes succeeded in bringing on reactionary measures. The Chambers became, in a considerable degree, an instrument of the Jesuits and of the Roman Church. Unconstitutional laws were passed, and followed by new persecutions of Protestants.

Reaction.

The Duke de Berry was the universally beloved son of the Count d'Artois. An assassin, Louvel, stabbed him mortally at the door of the opera-house (February 13, 1820). The last words of the dying man were a request for the pardon of his murderer. The duke, after his father and his elder brother, the Duke d'Angoulême, was the only legitimate direct heir to the throne. Louvel's motive was to put an end to the Bourbon dynasty, by killing Berry before he could have any heirs. The assassin did not know that the Duchess de Berry was about to become a mother. On September 29, 1820, she gave birth to Henry, Duke de Bordeaux (Count Chambord), grandson of Charles X.

Murder of the Duke de Berry.

This murder had precisely the contrary effect to that expected by the murderer. It threw the power still more into the hands of the Ultra-royalists. The press was placed under severer censorship. The reaction was so complete, that, in 1823, from April to October, by order of the Holy

French intervention in Spain in favor of absolutism, October, 1823.

Alliance (Congress of Verona), Louis XVIII. sent an army under the command of the Duke d'Angoulême into Spain, and, as already stated, restored the throne to the tyrant, Ferdinand VII., without effective opposition from the French people.

Count de Villèle.

Count de Villèle was minister from 1820 till the death of Louis XVIII. (1824), and after the accession of Charles X. till January 4, 1828. He had opposed the march of the French army into Spain. In the last years of Louis, Villèle undertook no important measures without consulting Count d'Artois. The king became weaker and more regardless of public affairs till he quietly died (September 16, 1824), not without the esteem of his people, who compared him with his brother Artois.

Charles X.

Charles X. mounted the throne, September 16, 1824, a representative pure and simple of Jesuitism and the reaction. Wholly ignorant of the state of the world, and of his duties and dangers as a sovereign; bigoted, narrow-minded, and attracting around him bigots and narrow-minded men, he thought he could replace France where she had been before the Revolution of 1789. After the intervention in favor of Ferdinand VII., he might well think he could do what he liked.

Charles began by coquetting with the people, declared a general amnesty, abolished the censorship, and proclaimed his intention to consolidate the constitution. Suddenly, one hundred and sixty-seven old officers of Napoleon were dismissed with pensions. Without consulting the Chambers, he decreed the re-introduction of nunneries, and carried through a law against sacrilege, authorizing the infliction of atrociously severe punishments. Sacrilege appeared to consist in not being a Ro-

man Catholic and a Jesuit. The law against sacrilege was followed by a bill of indemnity according a milliard (one thousand million) francs to the emigrants who had lost their landed property in the Revolution. The bill was followed by another restoring primogeniture; but the latter bill was rejected by the Peers.

The coronation.

A trivial circumstance gave a new insight into the character of Charles and his party. At his coronation, he had been, it was said, anointed by that holy oil which an angel had brought down from heaven for the baptism of Clovis (496). The convention, during the Revolution, had taken the sacred ampulla with its heavenly oil, broken it to pieces and scattered the fragments. The clerical party declared that one of the fragments, with some of the oil, had been miraculously preserved. With this oil the king was anointed at his coronation.

The Ultramontane party.

The Ultramontanes now became the strongest party. Although the Jesuits had been banished, the king kept them in power. Public report (we may suppose an exaggeration) declared the king himself was a member of the Jesuit order, and that in the frock and hood of a monk, he was obliged, on certain occasions, to render an account to his superior of every act of his government. In 1827 (Villèle minister), a bill completely muzzling the press was proposed to the Chambers. Béranger, Thiers, Chateaubriand, the whole nation out of the Chamber and in the Chamber cried out against it. It was carried with great difficulty in the Second Chamber. But the Chamber of Peers rejected it (April 17, 1827). In the evening, Paris was magnificently illuminated, and the example was followed in all the provinces. A few days afterward, the king

reviewed twenty thousand National Guards. The troops cried: "*Down with the minister! Down with Villèle!*" The king haughtily remarked: "I come here to command, not to obey." The National Guard was immediately dissolved by a royal decree. On November 5, 1827 (Villèle still minister), the nation was surprised by several royal decrees: I. Second Chamber dissolved. II. Seventy-six new members appointed into the Chamber of Peers. III. A new Chamber of Deputies to be elected within three weeks.

This threw France into the greatest excitement. A Chamber of Deputies was elected much more liberal than the previous one. Among the members, the great democratic banker, Laffitte; the unflinching Constitutionalist, Dupont de l'Eure, Royer Collard, a statesman, whose liberality had never wavered since the taking of the Bastile; Benjamin Constant, and Casimir Perrier, the leader of the Liberal party. During the election, tumults broke out; and for the first time in thirty years, barricades appeared. The majority in the Chamber against the government was one hundred and seventy-five. Villèle resigned, and was immediately raised to the peerage. It did not require a prophet to see that France was going down a pretty steep hill without any drag.

Béranger was the great song-writer of France. His songs were on the lips and in the hearts of millions, and some of them were not very carefully composed to please a reactionary monarch. While he apotheosized Napoleon, he attacked the Bourbons and made them ridiculous. He was condemned to three months' imprisonment and to a fine of ten thousand francs. The money was immediately paid by the poet's friends; as for the imprisonment, the poet

The poet Béranger, born 1780, died 1827.

went on warbling his songs like a nightingale in his cage. They inflicted greater injury on the throne than so many discharges of heavy artillery. Indeed, the poetry of Béranger is full of the tenderest sweetness, but often degenerates into sensuality and mockery of religion.

Ministry of Polignac, August, 1829—July, 1830.

The king now called Prince Polignac, created a prince by the Pope. Polignac proposed to overthrow the charter by a plan which would divert attention from the interior to a brilliant foreign policy. The Greek revolution was drawing to a close. Polignac formed a plan of intervention by the Great Powers in favor of Greece. Turkey was to disappear; the Danubian principalities were to go to Russia; Servia and Bosnia to Austria; the rest to the King of Holland, who was to cede Belgium to France, and the Dutch colonies to England. Prussia was to take Holland and the Kingdom of Saxony. The King of Saxony was to build up a new kingdom with the Rhine provinces of Prussia; France was to take Rhenish Bavaria; Bavaria to be indemnified by Salzburg.

Polignac abandoned this scheme only from the fact that, before his courier bearing the proposal reached St. Petersburg, the peace which gave freedom to Greece was already determined upon.

Polignac now turned his eyes toward Africa. There had been an old quarrel with the Dey of Algiers. A system of piracy, which made the Algerian corsairs a terror to every ship venturing into the Mediterranean, had been for hundreds of years (incredible to relate) submitted to by the Christian powers. The English, French, Dutch, and Americans had vainly endeavored to chastise these pirates. Thousands of Christians were held as slaves. It can scarcely be believed that even in the year

1800, an American officer, Captain Bainbridge, commanding the American frigate "George Washington," was deputed by his government to bear a large sum of money as a tribute to the pirate Dey of Algiers. In 1815, however, the American Commodore Decatur sailed into the Bay of Algiers, and compelled the Dey to release all American slaves, and to abandon all future claims for tribute. In 1816, the English bombarded the city, and reduced it to ashes. The city was rebuilt, and the pirates continued their trade. Polignac thought this a good opportunity to dazzle the French. The Dey had written a letter to Charles X., which had remained without answer. He complained of this to the French consul at Algiers (ministry, Villèle), who replied: "The King of France does not condescend to correspond personally with a Dey of Algiers." Upon this, the Dey slapped him in the face with his fly-brush. The consul was recalled, and a feeble war for two years carried on against Algiers. During a previous ministry, an ultimatum had been sent, but the Dey fired upon the ship which brought it.

Polignac here had two wars on his hands: a war against Algiers without; and a war against the French people within. He meant to dissolve the Chambers, and to efface the impression by the splendor of a victory over Algiers. The news soon came of a real victory in the cause of humanity, as well as of all commercial nations. One hundred French ships-of-war, more than sixty thousand men, including sailors, attacked the town of Algiers, and, after a bloody fight, the old palace was blown into the air; the army routed, the city taken. The Dey begged for his life, and the conqueror permitted him and his family to escape. He abandoned to the French his State treasury (forty-eight million francs), his

artillery, and millions in rich merchandise (June, 1830). Since that time, Algeria has remained a French colony.

The quarrel of the king with his people, however, had gone too far to be arrested even by the most flaming accounts of this event.

On March 2, Charles had personally opened the Chambers, at once threatening and insulting them. A curious anecdote is related. In the course of his speech, his Majesty became so enraged and so hot that he took off his hat and, in doing so, dropped it upon the floor. The Duke d'Orleans (Louis Philippe) picked it up, as he afterward did his crown. The Chamber of Deputies, in a very bold address, signed by two hundred and twenty-one members, demanded a change of ministry. Europe watched the quarrel with alarm. The course of Charles had frightened the cabinets. The Russian Emperor reminded him that the charter had been guaranteed. Even Metternich warned him not to undertake any thing unless he was sure of being able to carry it through. But Charles, haughty in proportion as he was incompetent, and obstinate in proportion as he was wrong, turned a deaf ear. It might be asked, why did not the Holy Alliance send an army to intervene in favor of the people? Charles, supported by his minister, resolved to go forward. He refused to receive the address of the Deputies, and dissolved the Chamber. The nation elected a new Chamber more liberal than the other, including the two hundred and twenty-one Deputies who had signed the offensive address.

Coup d'état, July 28, 1830.

The moment had now come for the *coup d'état*. Paris and all France were electrified, on the morning of July 26, by several new ordinances; among them were the following:

I. The new Chamber of Deputies, which had not yet met, was dissolved.

II. A new election law, withdrawing the right of suffrage from all except the rich.

III. Convocation of a new Chamber (September 28), to be elected according to this law.

IV. A new press law, which forbade the publication of any journal without permission from the police.

The king appointed Napoleon's old general, Marmont, commander of the forces in and around Paris; and then (July 26), having a distaste for noise, powder, and smoke, took a drive to his quiet hunting-seat, Rambouillet. At midnight, he returned to St. Cloud, a suburb of Paris. It is often stated that he went to Rambouillet without apprehension of any serious revolt. This is not correct. As he signed the ordinances in the evening of the 25th, he dismissed his cabinet with the words: "Gentlemen, I count on you, and you may count on me. We are playing for life or death."

Revolution in Paris.

Upon Charles' return from Rambouillet at midnight of the 26th, he expected, no doubt, insurrection, barricades, and burning houses. His astonishment must have been great indeed. Paris was as quiet as the forests of Rambouillet. Some of Polignac's windows had been smashed; that was the worst. The explanation was, Paris had been astounded. Nobody had known what to do. On the subsequent day, however, July 27, appeared a protest drawn up by Thiers in the editorial office of *The Nationale*, after consultation with forty-four journalists there assembled. It declared that "Law had ceased. The nation lived under brute force. Obedience was no longer a duty. France must judge what she had to do." Crowds everywhere col-

lected, reading the protest or hearing it read. Barricades appeared. Patrols of *gensd'armes* were marched through the streets and received with stones. The excitement grew with every hour. At three in the afternoon of the 27th was heard the first musket-shot. It can scarcely be credited that Charles and Polignac had played this daring game without any real preparation. Polignac had promised Marmont eighteen thousand men. Only eleven thousand could be mustered, and these were lukewarm, if not inclined to go with the people. The crowds in the streets were increased by day-laborers, soldiers out of service, students, etc. So passed the 27th. In the night, the town was more prepared. Committees had been appointed. Leaders were found. Barricades were built. Alarm-bells tolled. The people were up. The National Guard appeared in uniform. Crowds broke into every place where arms were to be had. "*Down with the Bourbons!*" thundered through all the streets. Marmont informed the king that he had to deal with no insurrection, but with a revolution, and recommended conciliatory measures. The king refused the least concession. Polignac encouraged him in his refusal. The excitement and din grew more and more furious. The whole population seemed behind the barricades, and the barricades advanced to the Tuileries. On the morning of the 29th, Marmont had been forced back into the Tuileries, where he was nearly blockaded. The insurgents advanced with more and more irresistible power. The royal troops were seized with a panic, and fled or joined the people. The king, with his ministers, had remained at St. Cloud, about five and a half miles from Paris. In this beautiful château he had signed the ordinances, and here he waited the consequences. Messenger after messenger brought darker and darker reports

of rout and ruin. At last, Marmont himself and his adjutants, hot from the battle, dripping with perspiration, and covered with dust, arrived to announce that all was lost. The National Guard had gone over to the people, with Lafayette at their head. The army had fraternized. The whole city was in arms. A municipal council had been appointed, and was in session at the Hôtel de Ville, under the leading of Laffitte, Casimir Perrier, the Duke de Choiseuil, Lafayette, etc., and lastly, the Duke d'Orleans had been proposed as Stadtholder of the kingdom.

Charles now dispatched to Paris the Duke de Mortmart, announcing the recall of the ordinances and the dismissal of the ministers, a new Liberal ministry, constitutionalism, liberty, and universal suffrage. He then, with his family, hastily left St. Cloud, and reached Rambouillet in safety. Here he signed a formal abdication in favor of his grandson, the Duke de Bordeaux (Count Chambord). The Duke d'Angoulême, eldest son of Charles X., waving his own right to the throne, joined in this abdication.

Remark.—The Duke de Bordeaux is now generally called Count Chambord, and we shall hereafter mention him by that name. Till his death, he represented the old line of the Bourbons in contradistinction to Louis Philippe and his line.

Why did the Duke d'Angoulême also abdicate? Because he knew the party of the Revolution would not accept as their king the man who had led a French army across the Pyrenees and replaced Ferdinand upon the Spanish throne.

Various messengers, supposed to be from the new Stadtholder, now came to Charles, informing him that his sojourn in Rambouillet kept Paris in agitation, and that

his life was in danger. On the 3d of August, an undisciplined body of troops was dispatched to Rambouillet (said to have been by order of Louis Philippe). The fallen monarch was thus frightened out of France. Accompanied by his family, on the evening of the 3d of August, he commenced his flight to England. After various insults and dangers, he reached Cherbourg in safety; embarked, August 16, in an American vessel, and landed on the Isle of Wight as a private gentleman, under the name of Count Ponthieu. This was the third and last time he fled from France.

Thoughts on Charles X.

His youth had been profligate, heartless, even scandalous. As one of the emigrant princes, during the Revolution, he distinguished himself equally by stupidity and cowardice. In 1785, he had an opportunity, by landing in the Vendée, to arrest the revolution, restore the monarchy, and punish the murderers of his brother. But he had not the courage. His influence in the cabinet of Louis XVIII. was pernicious. In his last years, he enjoyed field-sports; and the reader may, perhaps, smile, when we add, he showed great interest in religion. This may have been superstition. It may have been hypocrisy. It would be more charitable to think it the sincere repentance which at the end of his pilgrimage is felt by many a man whose pride is humbled, whose heart is changed by sorrow, and who has had time to reflect. He died in Austria, November 6, 1836, aged seventy-nine.

Duke d'Orleans.

The Duke d'Orleans, at the revolution of 1830, was fifty-seven years old. The son of the notorious *Egalité*, he had manifested none of his father's vices; but was known as a brave, distinguished officer, and a shrewd, experienced man. He had

safely passed through the Revolution of 1792, although Marat had proposed a reward for his head. While the other emigrants had contrived to supply themselves with money, he had honorably earned his bread by labor. At Reichenau, near Chur (Switzerland), he found employment in a boarding-school as a teacher of geography, mathematics, and drawing, under the name of *Monsieur Chabeaud-Latour*. Not the least suspicion was entertained of his rank. He remained here till his father's execution, when he left Switzerland, and sailed from Hamburg to the United States, landing in Philadelphia, October 21, 1796. Here he remained four years.

The hero of this little romance had watched the blunders of Charles with interest, and saw the possibility of ascending the throne in his place. There had been some idea, even to the last moment, of keeping Charles, but Thiers and Laffitte said: "It is too late!" A republic was thought dangerous. The throne must be filled by a king, surrounded, however, by republican statesmen and institutions. The Duke d'Orleans seemed the most available person to act as a dam against the Red Republican flood which threatened a general inundation. Thiers went in search of the duke, who could not at first be found. He had modestly withdrawn from the importunities of his ambitious friends to a retired country-seat, called Naincy, in the forest of Bondy; not, however, quite too far from Paris to be found in case of need. At eleven o'clock in the night, in compliance with an invitation from the leaders of the Revolution, he entered Paris on foot, accompanied by two adjutants. He here met the Duke de Mortmart, the messenger of Charles, bringing every possible concession. Mortmart had come, also on foot, from St. Cloud; exhausted, agitated, and breathless. The duke

declared he had consented to his appointment as Stadtholder, merely to prevent the proclamation of the republic; but rather than set the crown upon his head, he would permit himself to be cut to pieces. He repaired to the Hôtel de Ville, where he was received by Lafayette, Laffitte, and the other members of the committee. Seizing his arm, Lafayette led him to the balcony, looking down upon an immense and agitated crowd. Waving in his hand a tricolor flag, Lafayette, after publicly embracing him, presented him to the nation as the new Stadtholder.

On the day when he sent the undisciplined troops to frighten away Charles from Rambouillet, the Stadtholder opened the Chambers. He communicated the abdication of Charles, and of the Duke d'Angoulême; but he did not state that their abdication had been made in favor of Count Chambord. The Chambers were informed that *the throne was vacant*, and left to consider who was the most proper person to fill it. The choice almost unanimously fell upon the Duke d'Orleans. As, on hearing the overture, an audience gets some idea of an opera, so by these first steps the nation obtained an insight into the future administration of their new king. It was a tricky administration, and one of almost universal political corruption, in which the king, although irreproachable in private life, led the way.

Prince Polignac.

Polignac was in Paris during the first day of the revolution. The people stormed and demolished his palace. He fled to the Tuileries. From the Tuileries, as the threatening crowds approached, he withdrew to the king in St. Cloud. Finding that even here his life was not safe, he continued his flight to the North of France, and reached the fortified

sea-port town, Granville. Here he was recognized in the disguise of a valet, arrested, and brought back to Vincennes, where he found four of his ministerial colleagues also prisoners. They were all condemned to perpetual imprisonment. He passed eight years in the old State prison of Ham, where Prince Napoleon was subsequently confined. In 1838, Louis Philippe amnestied him. After his liberation, he lived in England till his death, 1847.

The trial of Polignac and his colleagues formed one of the first embarrassments of Louis Philippe. He would gladly have secured to them life and liberty, but the thirst for their blood in the masses of Paris was too intense. The news that they were not to be shot almost occasioned another revolution.

Louis Philippe, King of the French, Aug. 7, 1830 — Feb. 24, 1848.

After his election as king, Louis Philippe made a triumphant entry into the Palais Bourbon, to the sound of the "Marseillaise," the thunder of cannon, and the loud acclamations of the multitude.

Insurrections.

He was scarcely seated on the throne, when insurrections, some of them caused by want of bread, began to take place. They were promptly suppressed by military force.

Duchess de Berry.

The Legitimists, in 1832, rose at the call of the Duchess de Berry, mother of Count Chambord. The insurrection was put down, and the reputation of the king injured by the way in which he treated the duchess.

Republican insurrection.

Count Lamarque, one of Napoleon's generals, died in 1832. His funeral was attended by immense multitudes. The occasion was seized to raise a formidable insurrection. All the troops of Paris and the National Guard long strove in

vain to suppress it, and succeeded at last only after a bloody battle of nearly forty-eight hours. It showed the volcanic forces at work beneath the throne of the citizen king.

Egyptian Question, 1839-1841.

Mehemed Ali, the ruler of Egypt, who had treacherously massacred the Mamelukes, and who ferociously oppressed the Egyptian fellahs (the land-holding peasants); who used modern reforms only to sink his subjects into more hopeless slavery, aimed at cutting free from Turkey and establishing a monarchy, consisting of Egypt, Syria, Greece, and other territory. In this he nearly succeeded, by the assistance of Louis Philippe, when England, Russia, Prussia, and Austria (Quadruple Alliance, 1840), opposed and defeated the plan by force. France made preparations for war; but suddenly backed out, in conformity with the policy of *paix à tout prix*. The whole affair was regarded by the French people as a humiliation.

Abd-el-Kader.

Abd-el-Kader, the most formidable Arab chief in Africa, had been at last defeated by the French General Pelissier. Abd-el-Kader surrendered on the condition that he should not be held prisoner. This condition was stipulated in a convention ratified by the Duke d'Aumale, son of Louis Philippe and Governor-general of Algeria. Louis Philippe broke this pledge, and kept the noble Arab several years in France, under the severest surveillance. The matter was made worse by the barbarity with which the war had been carried on. One example: An Arabic tribe, between eight hundred and a thousand men, women, and children, had sought refuge in the Cave of the Dahra. Pelissier, afterward Duke of Malakoff, stopped the mouth of the cave with combustible materials, and set them on fire. By this

means all the fugitives were suffocated. The friends of Pelissier declared that he had done this only to drive the victims out of the cave, and that he had left some apertures uncovered. But he did it.

Changes of ministry during Louis Philippe's reign.

There were continual changes of ministry during Louis Philippe's reign. They arose from the circumstance that the king himself governed. As long as a minister bent to his will, he could remain. A minister might be doctrinaire, republican, reactionary, or any thing he liked, only let him keep his hand off the reins of government. Laffitte, the Duke de Broglie, Casimir Perrier, Soult, Sebastiani, Maret, Mortier, Thiers, Guizot, Gérard, Molé, followed in rapid succession. Their cabinets blended, separated, and undermined each other. The people soon discovered that there was only one Prime Minister, and that was the king. Sometimes a cabinet lasted only four days. Sometimes there was no cabinet at all. The king was his own cabinet. Each minister was embarrassed by the personal, unconstitutional interference of the sovereign. This interference, it must be admitted, was sometimes used to prevent wars, as in the Egyptian question. The cabinet of Soult, however, including Duchâtel, with Guizot (the latter the master-spirit), remained in power from 1840 till the revolution of 1848.

Attempts to murder the king.

The king had not been three years on the throne, when the first attack was made upon his life. A man fired, without hitting him. The assassin, Bergeron, was arrested and tried; but acquitted, from the fact that no one could swear he saw him fire. He subsequently boasted of the act. During the whole reign, these murderous attempts were repeated.

Fieschi, a Corsican, a spy, and a vagabond, had prepared an infernal machine, with a hundred gun-barrels, bound together and loaded with the greatest possible number of projectiles. By the aid of two accomplices, the machine was placed in the window of a house on the Boulevard du Temple. On the fifth anniversary of the July Revolution, as the king was passing with his staff and three of his sons to review the troops, accompanied by an immense crowd, the machine was exploded. The king and his sons were uninjured. Sixty persons were killed or wounded. Among the dead was Marshal Mortier. Fieschi and his two fellow-murderers were guillotined.

Fieschi, July 28, 1835.

The consequence was, the enactment of the September laws, by which political prosecutions were made more easy and rapid.

September laws, 1836.

Alibaud attempted to kill the king, June 26, 1836; Darmés, 1840; Henri, 1846; Lecomte, 1846; Huber discharged a double-barreled musket into the carriage as the king, with his family, was returning from an afternoon drive. The criminals were either guillotined or sent to a penal colony.

Other murderous attempts.

These attempts, from which the king was so marvelously protected, clothed him for a time with the sympathy of the nation. But he profited by them to revive the old unconstitutional measures of Charles X. Without the hardihood to strike an open blow at the charter, he undermined it by a system of secret corruption, which demoralized the government and wealthier circles, and at last, when discovered, filled the nation with disgust. Elections were bought. The king possessed an enormous fortune of his own, which he constantly endeavored to increase. Where

Corruption of the Administration.

did he get his fortune? Louis XVIII., on ascending the throne, found a vast amount of real property confiscated during the Revolution, which had remained unsold. With the consent of the two Chambers, he gave this back to the rightful proprietors. An immense portion came to Louis Philippe.

Prince Napoleon at Strassburg.

On October 29, 1836, Prince Napoleon made an attempt to gain possession of the French throne. He conspired with some discontented French officers, who had secret interviews with him at Baden-Baden (among others, the Colonel Vaudray, commanding an artillery regiment at Strassburg), and, accompanied by Persigny and about twenty other persons, repaired to Strassburg. At day-break, arrayed in the well-known uniform of the Emperor Napoleon, he appeared before the regiment of Colonel Vaudray, and, in imitation of Napoleon at Grenoble, made the soldiers an address. The regiment was informed that Paris was in revolution; that the king had been deposed; the people were shouting: "*Vive l'Empereur!*" Upon hearing this, the regiment also shouted: "*Vive l'Empereur!*" In the midst of the shouting, Talandier, the commander of the fortress, came into the barrack-yard, walked indignantly up to the prince, stripped him of his decorations and sword, tore off his epaulets, and trampled upon the "grand cordon of the Legion of Honor." This took place without the least resistance. The persons composing the Imperial staff of the prince were passed through the same process, and the whole party were then marched off to prison. On the petition of Prince Napoleon's mother, the king treated him as a foolish boy (he was at that time twenty-eight), caused him to be shipped off to America, at the same time presenting him six hun-

dred pounds for his traveling expenses. His accomplices were tried, but as the principal conspirator had been pardoned by the king, the court decided that the subordinates ought not to be punished, and therefore acquitted them. At this, the king was very angry.

Prince Napoleon at Boulogne.

About four years after his adventure at Strassburg, Prince Napoleon made a second attempt. Accompanied by about fifty persons, he landed from a small steamer, near Boulogne (August 6, 1840). He had brought with him a piece of raw beef and a tame eagle, trained for the purpose, which, at the proper moment, was to descend upon the prince. But the plot would not work. Instead of mounting into the air and then descending upon the prince, the eagle, in the hour of need, had fallen asleep; and, as the prince, surrounded by his army of fifty, arrayed in new uniforms, was preparing to distribute proclamations, instead of the eagle, Colonel Puygellier (who had remained awake), strode into the barrack-yard, and ordered the Emperor and his army to be arrested. From the documents found on the prince, it appears that, had the people risen as he expected, the plan was to appoint a provisional government, with Thiers at the head; and to submit his claim to a vote of the French nation. He was tried for treason before the Chamber of Peers. In justice to him be it said that, although he had, in the crisis, shown neither presence of mind nor courage, he exhibited both on his trial. The Chamber condemned him to imprisonment for life in the fortress of Ham, where he passed several years, in the room previously occupied by Polignac.

In 1840, Thiers conceived the idea to remove the remains of the Emperor Napoleon from St. Helena to Paris.

By permission of the British government, they were embarked on board the French frigate "Belle Poule," under the command of the Prince de Joinville, and deposited in the Hôtel des Invalides, in the presence of one million spectators, including one hundred and fifty thousand troops. King Louis Philippe, all his family, and the highest persons of the realm witnessed the ceremony. It was observed that not one of Napoleon's family was present. All the members of that family were either banished or in prison. The coffin had been opened in St. Helena, on being taken from the grave. It is said the face was found strangely unaltered, and the hand which had pointed the way across the Alps, to Italy, to Egypt, to Moscow, remained in the very same raised position in which Bertrand (1821) had left it, as he printed upon it his parting kiss.

Removal of Emperor Napoleon's remains, December 14, 1840.

In 1840, the king commenced the vast fortifications which encircle Paris with a wall and a ditch, twenty-two miles in circumference, including seventeen detached strong fortresses, a continuous carriage road, and within that a railroad. This gigantic military monument was regarded by the nation as intended to be used, not so much against a foreign enemy as against Paris. Subsequently (1848), many insurgents of the June days were here incarcerated, and when Napoleon III. perpetrated his *coup d'état* (December 2, 1852), the forts were used as places of confinement for political enemies. Besides these works, Louis Philippe adorned Paris with many splendid architectural monuments.

Fortifications.

Perhaps no event more seriously injured Louis Philippe than the Spanish marriages, October, 1846. From 1833, Spain had suffered heavily from civil war. Louis Philippe

was accused of supporting the regentess, Christina, against the Spanish nation, with a view to acquire for one of his own sons the succession to the Spanish throne. Europe was astonished by the news that the hand of the young Queen Isabella had been bestowed upon the helplessly infirm Duke of Cadiz, and that the hand of Isabella's sister, and with it the probable succession, to the Duke de Montpensier, son of Louis Philippe.

The Spanish marriages, 1846.

In 1839, the gifted daughter of Louis Philippe, the Princess Marie, died. This was the first of several heavy blows which fell upon the king.

Death of Princess Marie, 1839.

The Duke d'Orleans, eldest son of the king and heir to the throne, equally distinguished as a scholar, a soldier, and a gentleman, the hope of France, and very popular from his genuine constitutional principles, on the eve of setting out on a journey, was driving to Neuilly, about two miles from Paris, to take leave of his parents, when his horses ran away. He leaped from the carriage, fractured his skull, and was carried into a neighboring house, where he died in two hours. His wife, the Duchess d'Orleans, a princess of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, equally and deservedly beloved, educated her two sons, the Comte de Paris and the Duke de Chartres, in the liberal principles of their father. This displeased Louis Philippe, who, a few months after her husband's death, caused a bill of regency to be presented to the two Chambers, by which she was deprived of the rights belonging to her, according to the usages of the French monarchy. The people regarded the Chambers, which passed this bill, as mere instruments in the hands of the king

Death of the Duke d'Orleans, July 13, 1842.

Immediately before the revolution of 1848, the corruption in the upper circles had increased in degree, and extended widely. The system of bribery practiced by the king had been found too convenient not to be adopted by many others, and it was believed that in government circles and transactions, fraud was not the exception, but the rule. Offices were sold. Immense defalcations were discovered in the navy-yards and in the public corn magazines. Some of the noblest families were suspected of swindling. Some of the highest ministers of Louis Philippe were openly accused. No one around the throne was free from suspicion. Duchâtel, Minister of the Interior, was denounced by Girardin as engaged in a gigantic swindling transaction. Granier de Cassagnac, it was declared, had sold his vote, and any one who chose could buy a seat in the Chamber of Peers. No notice was taken of these charges, and silence was considered a confession of guilt. Some cases, too flagrant, were prosecuted and convicted. Cubières, an old general of Napoleon, peer of France, French Minister of War in 1839 and 1840, was found guilty of fraudulently obtaining from Teste, Minister of Public Works, a most lucrative grant for the working of salt mines. He was sentenced (1847) to civil degradation, and to a fine of twelve thousand francs. Teste was tried for receiving a bribe of one hundred thousand francs, condemned, degraded, sentenced to three years' imprisonment, fined ninety-four thousand francs, and compelled to pay back the bribe he had received. He killed himself in prison. The public opinion was expressed in a speech of Lamartine. He declared "the government of July a failure. It had never acted on a noble idea. It was transforming a nation of burgh-

State of France immediately before the revolution.

ers into a band of thieves, and was selling to the highest bidder the privileges which their fathers had bought on the battle-field with their blood. Such a kingdom must speedily fall."

A long peace, and the consequent flourishing state of trade and commerce, had enormously increased the wealth of the upper classes, and their wealth received an apparent, extraordinary augmentation by a system of paper money. The circles around the throne exhibited all the splendor of unbounded opulence and profligate pleasure. The people were starving; there were heavy strikes of workmen; baker-shops were plundered, and the troops continually called to suppress bread riots. Demagogues inspired the masses with hatred for king, court circles, and the principle of government, and pointed to the equipages, *soirées*, and gorgeous palaces of the great merchants and manufacturers. Revolutionists by profession, socialists, communists, organizers of secret societies, atheistical and revolutionary, told astounding tales of the piles of gold and silver which, although won by the toil and hearts' blood of the poor workman, now ministered to the idleness and debauchery of his inhuman employer.

The reader must be struck with the fact that governments, as well as individuals, have not yet comprehended the old proverb, that honesty is the best policy. We have just seen that France, immediately before the revolution of 1848, "enjoyed an unusual degree of prosperity. The revenue was abundant; public instruction had been improved, and the penal code rendered less severe. Commerce flourished. The coasts had been provided with light-houses. The lottery (which as a branch of revenue still disgraces some of the most enlightened

governments) was suppressed, and an extensive system of railroads had been adopted, which promised increased strength and wealth. But this plan of railroads, instead of being properly executed in the interest of the country, by first concentrating the capital upon the grand thoroughfare between Boulogne and Marseilles, was used only in the interest of the government; the capital having been distributed with no other view than to influence the approaching elections. The consequence was a general practice of stock-jobbing, and an ever-increasing, frightful corruption through nearly all classes."*

By his peace policy, Louis Philippe rendered important services to mankind, but it cost him the respect of a large part of the nation. They called him an old banker, and compared him with that resplendent ideal of military glory, Napoleon.

* Histoire de France, par Victor Durux. Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1880.

CHAPTER XXI.

POLITICAL CHANGES IN FRANCE.

REVOLUTION OF FEBRUARY, 1848—FLIGHT OF THE KING—REPUBLIC—INSURRECTION OF JUNE 22—CAVAIGNAC—PRINCE NAPOLEON.

THE Chamber debates during the year 1847, had been stormy. The majority, generally commanded by Guizot, had melted away. The July monarchy was sinking. The king and the Chambers had wholly lost the confidence of the nation. The government was charged with favoring absolutism in Spain, Egypt, Poland, and Portugal, and with having violated the principle of non-intervention, particularly by supporting the Jesuits in the Swiss Sonderbund war. Above all, a reform of the electoral law was loudly and sternly demanded. By the present law, the Chambers were mere instruments of the king. They were despised as results of bribery, and as representing corruption. Odillon Barrot stated the case to the Chambers. The people were not justly represented. Twenty-five thousand rich sent one member, whilst in the case of those less wealthy, one hundred and fifty thousand elected a member (that is, the rich man had six votes, and the poor man only one). Two hundred State officers, in fact placed there by the king, sat in the Chamber of Deputies, and defeated every wish of the people. The poor man suffered under another disadvantage. Not only he could

Electoral law.

not elect, but as no remuneration was paid to a Deputy, he could not afford to be elected. All parties united in agitating for reform; the mass of the nation, and the honest, sensible leaders, because reform was necessary, and they were determined to have it. But that was all. Odillon Barrot and his party had no idea of a revolution. The Bonapartists watched the rising storm with delight. The Republicans hailed the advent of a new republic. The Legitimists hoped to regain the throne. The Socialists saw an opportunity to redeem mankind by the guillotine, and the Communists believed that the hour approached when they could "dance on the place where the throne and the altar had stood"; and vowed that their millennium should not again fail, as it had failed in 1792, because Robespierre, Danton, and Marat had been too tender-hearted to carry it out logically. It is not necessary to suppose these aims countenanced by all the leaders; but it is certain that the most heterogeneous parties, however in general pursuing opposite objects, often united for a time against the common enemy. The Atheist and the Ultramontane; the Bourbon and the Napoleonist; the Jesuit and the Red Republican, in those subterranean regions where the revolutionary gases are generated, went shoulder to shoulder for the purpose of destroying the throne of Louis Philippe.

In July, 1847, the Chambers adjourned, but the friends of reform continued to assemble in a closer phalanx. The opposition began to meet at large banquets, called "reform banquets"; the first at *Château Rouge*, in the neighborhood of Paris. Similar banquets were organized all over the country. The king's ears were dinned from one end of France to the other by one stern and steady cry: "*Reform! Reform!*"

The Chambers, for 1848, were opened December 28, 1847. The king, it is said, on taking leave of a gentleman who had dined with him, made the following reply to the question: "Is your Majesty not alarmed at the rising storm?"—"No, I am too firm in the saddle to be thrown." In fact, he had suppressed many insurrections (one with water from fire-engines). He held the Chambers in his hand, and so the strong rider, curbing his restive charger, let him "champ the iron bit," and fret and fume as he liked. In his speech, on the opening of the Chambers, he said: "The country is agitated by blind and hostile passions, which will waste their fury and harmlessly break." Duchâtel, Minister of the Interior, in the course of the debate, declared his intention, in conformity with a law passed 1790, to forbid all future reform banquets; and as one had been announced in Paris, he notified the parties that the police would prevent it. The opposition declared they would, nevertheless, hold the banquet of February in the Elysian Fields. At this point, both parties hesitated. On February 21, appeared a printed invitation to the people of Paris, and to the National Guard, to assemble the next morning at the Place de la Madeleine, and form a procession to the Elysian Fields. The affair now took such threatening dimensions that the opposition, in order to avoid bloodshed, abandoned the banquet. They had aimed at reform, not revolution. Instead of holding the banquet, they concluded to impeach the ministry. The journals, on the morning of the 22d, contained this resolution, and entreated the people not to break the peace. In the meantime, the government had also changed its purpose. To avoid the threatened conflict, it had decided to let the banquet go on. But it was now too late. On the morning of the 22d,

the Place de la Madeleine was crowded with conspirators, demagogues, communists, socialists, professional revolution-makers. Fiery orators delivered speeches as in the old days of 1793. Suddenly, a loud voice cried: "*To the Chamber of Deputies!*" The cry was taken up by thousands, and multitudes, always increasing in number, thronged to the building. "*Vive la réform! A bas Guizot!*" resounded on every side. Suddenly, a regiment of cavalry appeared. The people had at that moment no military leaders. The demagogues and orators, distinguished not only by patriotism, but prudence, on these occasions generally retire. The troops advanced at a rapid pace, with drawn swords, and the crowd dispersed without bloodshed. So passed the day and night of the 22d. The 23d had a darker look. A great city rising in revolution is a frightful spectacle. Barricades appeared in many places, and increased in number. All over the town deepened the cry: "Reform! reform! Down with Guizot!" At last, the National Guard took up the cry and went over to the people. The king now called General Bougeaud to command the military force. Bougeaud, in a former insurrection, was accused of having ordered the massacre of helpless insurgents in the Rue Transnonain. His appointment was oil on the fire. At twelve o'clock noon of the 23d, Bougeaud took the command, and addressed his officers: "Gentlemen! remember! I have never been beaten, either on the battle-field or in an insurrection. I promise you to make short work with the rebel rabble." But when the king heard the infuriated cries: "*Down with Bougeaud! Down with the murderer of Transnonain!*" he canceled his commission and appointed General Girard in his place. He also dismissed Guizot and appointed Count Molé as his successor.

This seemed to please the people. Some barricades were removed, and an attempt was made to illuminate the city.

Large masses of the insurgents now surrounded the palace of Guizot. A post of fifty soldiers had been stationed there for its protection. Suddenly, there was a shot from the midst of the crowd, fired by a revolution-maker for the purpose of kindling the revolution. It mortally wounded an officer of the military post. The enraged troops replied with a full volley. The crowd dispersed. Forty dead bodies, many of them mere spectators, men, women, and children, remained on the pavement weltering in blood. Now broke forth through the whole town wild shrieks: "Murder! Treachery! Massacre!" The dead bodies were lifted upon cars and borne through the streets in solemn procession. The battle now began. The town bristled with barricades. The fighting continued all night. On the morning of the 24th, the people had obtained cannon and baggage-wagons. In many cases, the troops voluntarily delivered their muskets. The announcement of the ministry, Thiers, Barrot, and a complete reform of the electoral law, was now not enough. The people raised a new cry: "Down with Louis Philippe!" Multitudes pressed into the Palais Royal and made preparations to attack the Tuileries. Several regiments, stationed around that edifice, had given indications of a desire to join the people. The queen encouraged the king to place himself at their head. At noon, he mounted a horse and rode along the lines. He was received with gloomy silence, interrupted only by cries: "Reform! Reform!" He re-entered the palace dispirited and frightened, and strove to still the storm by various proclamations. But the

The first shot, February 23.

fighting still went on. Suddenly, without being announced, without the least ceremony, the well-known journalist, Girardin, burst into the royal apartment. "*Abdicate! Your Majesty must instantly abdicate. It is the only means to save your dynasty!*" The queen was in favor of fighting the battle out. But the strong rider saw it was time to dismount. He drew up his abdication in favor of his grandson, the Comte de Paris, February 24, and prepared to fly.

Flight of the king.

At a gate of the Tuileries garden, opening on the Place de la Concorde, stood three hackney-coaches. Into one entered an old gentleman, in the plain dress of a citizen, bearing a portfolio under his trembling arm. He was accompanied by a lady. They were Louis Philippe and the queen taking their last farewell of the beautiful Tuileries, from which had gone forth in their time, Louis XVI., Napoleon I., and Charles X.; and from which *one other* was destined to go forth. In the second and third carriages followed the remaining members of the royal family. A squadron of still faithful cuirassiers accompanied the party to St. Cloud. On his arrival, the king immediately dispatched his family out of France. They reached the coast, crossed the Channel in safety, and took up their abode in the peaceful and hospitable England, which seems placed there as a refuge, equally for proscribed revolutionists and fugitive sovereigns. The king himself remained awhile at St. Cloud, with a lingering hope that France might still continue his dynasty. But on the proclamation of the Republic (February 27, 1848), he resumed his flight, alone, under the name of Mr. Smith, not without danger; and as he several times repeated, "*comme Charles X.*" "The wheel," as Shakespeare says, "had

come full circle." He escaped to Honfleur, a sea-port on the south bank of the Seine, and in a small boat crossed that inlet of the sea which separates Honfleur from Havre (a distance of eight miles). After a stormy passage he was, at the latter port, received on board a small steamer, sent for his use by the British government. On the deck of this vessel, safe from Communists, Legitimists, and Socialists, and leaving behind the roar of revolution and the shouts of victory, he reached England (March 4), and rejoined his family at Clairmont, a palace in London, belonging to his son-in-law, the King of the Belgians. "Thus," says Dr. Weber, "a few hours sufficed to overthrow one of the mightiest monarchies of Europe, and to transform one of the most powerful kings into a helpless fugitive. The whole fabric of his kingdom came down with him, and all parties united against him. The ministerial Deputies fled or concealed themselves. The officials of the provinces, the army, the navy, hastened to give their adhesion to the new government. The Orleans dynasty had no disinterested supporters. It was founded on self-interest. Its fall awakened no sympathy and no regret."

Thoughts on Louis Philippe.

Louis Philippe remained at Clairmont till his death (1850, aged seventy-three years). He lived to see his old prisoner of Ham, President of the Republic, and on the eve of becoming Emperor. As a private gentleman, he was estimable; as a husband, father, and a friend, he deserved and won affection. His manners were fascinating, his private life free from vice. One of his greatest achievements was the foundation of the National Museum, at Versailles. His policy, *paix à tout prix*, although ridiculed, was more useful to mankind than the wars *coute qui coute* of

Louis XIV. and Napoleon. The stain upon his administration was the corruption introduced as a means of government, and the covetousness, never satisfied with accumulating large fortunes for himself and family, while thousands of poor laborers, unable to obtain work, were being cut down by squadrons of cavalry in insurrections caused by want of bread.

Storming of the Tuileries.

The flight from the Tuileries had not been too early. The king and queen had scarcely disappeared, when an uproarious mob burst into the palace, screaming with rage and wild with victory, tearing, swearing, burning, dashing to pieces whatever they could. The prisons had been opened, and the released inmates made a free use of their liberty. A portion, with hurrahs of ecstasy, broke into the cellars, reveled in the costly wines, and then streamed rollicking through the apartments in drunken riot. The furniture and ornaments were soon piles of ruin. The hated throne was borne to the Place de la Bastile, and there destroyed. The magnificent apartments, with their interesting associations, were plundered by hordes of the lowest proletariats, as they had been, August 10, 1792, by the ruffians of Danton, Westermann, and Santerre. It must be stated, in justice to the revolution of 1848, that a prohibition was proclaimed against robbery. The inscription: "*Mort aux voleurs!*" appeared in many places, and several unfortunate wretches, who had logically acted on Proudhon's fundamental principle, "*la propriété est un vol,*" and who, in their innocence, believed the establishment of that principle, the object of the revolution, were seized and unceremoniously shot. The students, who generally ride on these wild storms as ministering angels

(although in somewhat grotesque costumes), exercised a beneficent influence and, as far as possible, protected the works of art.

The Duke de Nemours and the Duchess d'Orleans, Feb. 24, 1848.

After Louis Philippe had fled from the Tuileries, and during the few moments before the storming of the palace by the mob, the Duke de Nemours, son of Louis Philippe, and his sister-in-law, the Duchess d'Orleans, with her two sons, the Comte de Paris and the Duke de Chartres (aged ten and eight), remained alone. It will be remembered that Louis Philippe, on the death of the Duke d'Orleans, had caused to be enacted a law sacrificing the just rights of the duchess, and appointing the Duke de Nemours regent in case of vacancy. There now stood the two regents, the regent by law and the regent by right, looking each other in the face. The few royal troops around the château were going over to the people, and the roaring revolution was advancing nearer and nearer. The Chamber of Deputies held its sittings in a building near the Tuileries. The duke and the duchess, with the two boys, left the palace, crossed the garden and the Place de la Concorde, and entered the hall where the Deputies were assembled. There was something heroic in this act of the duchess. At her appearance, the assembly broke out into loud cheers. It was believed she would speak some words, as Maria Theresa had done on a similar occasion. Probably, her emotion was too great. Acknowledging her reception by a silent gesture of gratitude, she took her seat with her sons, near the tribune. The Duke de Nemours, who had accompanied her, perhaps as her rival—it would be more charitable to suppose as her protector—remained also silent. Mr. Dupin, the celebrated lawyer and politician, spoke a few words, recommending

the young Comte de Paris as king, and his mother as regentess. But while he was speaking, a new uproarious rabble burst into the galleries, and even into the hall, with cries of "*Liberté! Fraternité! Egalité!*" The proceedings were interrupted.* Lamartine, influenced by Ledru-Rollin, declared that the discussion ought to be postponed till the duchess should retire. At these words, the mother and her two sons rose to quit the hall; but, changing her mind, she turned, came back again, and seated herself once more on a bench of the Left Center. The generous Odillon Barrot spoke warmly for her. His words were received with acclamations. Then was heard the thundering voice of the old Legitimist, Larochejacquelein (an out-and-out Charles X. man): "*Your day is over! You are now nothing!*" The cry arose for a provisional government. It was seconded by Lamartine and Crémieux. Masses of armed men here again broke into the hall, drunk with fury and with wine (out of the cellars of the Tuileries), with stentorian shouts for a provisional government, and for the Red Republic. The duchess, with her children, was in peril. She dared no longer remain, and for the moment she found it impossible to escape. She was in danger of being crushed by the crowd, or massacred by some Marat. Noble friends, however, surrounded her, and opened a way; but, in the tumult, her children were separated from her. She escaped, at last, from the hall, and on the outside of the building the elder boy (Comte de Paris) was brought to her in safety; but the younger (Duke de Chartres)—no one knew what had become of him. The duchess was conducted by the Count de Montesquieu to his own palace. She passed two days of agonizing uncertainty.

* Nemours fled, in disguise, to London.

whether her boy had been murdered or trampled to death; when the little fellow was brought back to her.*

Lamartine was the hero of the hour. His genius, courage, and eloquence, his writings, which had a certain revolutionary tendency, gave him power, even over the rough clamorers for the Red Republic. His tall, commanding figure rose above the crowd, and at his outstretched arm there was silence: "*A provisional government.*" That was the death-knell of the Orleans dynasty. When the shouts had for a moment subsided, Ledru-Rollin read the list, already prepared, of the new government: "*Dupont de l'Eure, Lamartine, Garnier-Pagés, Arago, Marie, Ledru-Rollin, Crémieux;*" each name received with deafening cheers. Some one proposed that the provisional government should repair to the Hôtel de Ville. The new government, like a little boat in an ocean storm, made its way with difficulty, through the vast, excited crowd, to that building. The first proceeding was the appointment of secretaries: *Louis Blanc, Armand, Marast, Flocon, Pagnierre,* and the *blacksmith apprentice, Albert.* These men had a vote in the council. That was a step forward from Soult and Guizot, not to speak of Polignac. They were chosen to tranquilize a violent outcry, that the provisional government of Lamartine was too conservative. A powerful party threatened to overthrow the new Republic, even before it was organized. A ring of terrorists, raving for the guillotine, as they had raved: "*Down with Charles X.! Down with Louis Philippe!*" now cried: "*Down with Lamartine!*" All kinds of people continually thronged through the Hôtel de Ville. At one time, the cry arose: "The head of Lamartine!" Lamartine

Provisional government.

* The duchess died in England, May 18, 1858, universally esteemed.

cried back: "Don't you wish you had it on your own shoulders? You would not then be such a set of fools!" On the 25th, the Hôtel de Ville was surrounded by an army of ruffians, shrieking for the *red flag*. The red flag meant the Reign of Terror: the guillotine, and, for a few months, one or two hundred executions a day. Lamartine was here grand and heroic. He acted up to his own poetry. Every moment in danger of being massacred; loaded muskets repeatedly leveled at him, as they had been at Boissy d'Anglas; he daringly confronted the crowd with words of fire, which commanded attention. "*What is your banner of blood*," he cried, "*which you would substitute for the tricolor of France? Your red flag is without honor and without fame. It has made no campaign except through the Champ de Mars, from the river Seine to the École militaire; and, on that narrow field, it was drenched with the blood only of your own fellow-citizens. But the tricolor is the banner of France. It has floated, as the symbol of victory, over a hundred battle-fields. It has been triumphantly borne by the hands of Frenchmen from one end of Europe to the other. Your enemies respect it and fear it. If you reject it, you cast away the fame, the splendor, the safety, the glory of France.*" Even that coarse mob took fire, and shouted: "*Vive Lamartine! Vive la France! Vive le tricolore!*"

Proclamation of the Republic.

The Republic was proclaimed February 27, 1848, on the Place de la Bastile. Insurgents filled the square, and demanded, with fierce threats, the proclamation of a Socialist Republic, to which some of the members of the provisional government, *Ledru-Rollin*, *Louis Blanc*, were inclined; but the firmness of the other members prevailed. The

real conflict, however, between the moderate Republic and the Red Republic was only postponed.

Monster funeral procession.

On March 4, there was a grand funeral procession, in honor of the combatants who had lost their lives fighting at the barricades.

National workshops, March 10, 1848.

National workshops were now organized. History affords no more striking illustration of the difference between theory and practice. At their commencement, twenty thousand men thronged together. The number speedily increased to one hundred thousand; at the time of their suppression, it had reached one hundred and fifty thousand; mostly Red Republicans. As it was not possible to supply useful work, the government had to invent work of no use. Earth-works were erected. Each laborer received two francs a day, whether he worked well or not. The laborers returned in the evening to their numerous clubs, where they ate and drank away their wages, careless of to-morrow, heated by mutual intercourse, and entertained by communist speeches from such orators as Raspail, Barbés, Blanqui, and the like. The workshops demoralized the people, and drained the treasury of about a million francs a week. They at last became a gigantic torpedo, which very soon exploded.

National Assembly, May 4, 1848.

In April, the French Republic had elected a National Constituent Assembly, which met May 4. Among the nine hundred members were Berryer, Larochejacquelein, Odillon Barrot, Duvergier, Montalembert, Barbés, Caussidière, Felix Pyat, and a number of Conservatives. By this election, France rejected the Socialist theories and the Commune. The national workshops were disappointed, and began to organize a more earnest revolution.

The first step of the National Assembly was to choose an executive committee of five members. Among them, strange to say, Ledru-Rollin. His name was the last on the list, and he would have been rejected but for Lamartine. This committee immediately organized the government, and named ministers. Some one (his name ought to be written on marble) proposed *Cavaignac* as Minister of War. The proposition was accepted.

Executive committee.

At this moment, France was in possession of liberty and universal suffrage. The abuses against which former revolutions had labored were removed. Foreign armies no longer gathered on the frontiers. Power was administered by honest liberal men—Lamartine, Odillon Barrot, Dupont de l'Eure, etc.; yet on May 15 (after two other attempts), a third insurrection was planned at the workshops; the object, to explode the new National Assembly, and proclaim the Red Republic. A pretext was at hand. An attempted revolution in Russian Poland had just been mercilessly crushed. It was determined by the insurgents that one of their members should present a petition in favor of Poland, and that as soon as he had done so, a great mob should invade the Assembly hall in the old Jacobin style, and demand the passage of the motion. On the appointed day, an enormous rabble, led by Blanqui, Raspail, Hubert, and others, surrounded the Chamber of Deputies and filled the galleries. Caussidière, newly appointed Minister of Police, a Red Republican and professional conspirator, was in league with the insurgents, and could not be found. Count Courtais (Extreme Left), who had also been forced upon the provisional government as Commandant of the National Guard, also

Insurrection, May 15, 1848.

favored the movement. Instead of calling out the troops and putting down the revolt, they opened negotiations with the leaders. Encouraged by this inactivity, the mob broke into the hall, and took possession of the Assembly. Blanqui proposed and carried a resolution, decreeing a tax of one milliard upon the rich. Hubert declared the government deposed and the Assembly dissolved. A new government was elected on the spot. Albert, Barbés, Blanqui, Louis Blanc, Proudhon, Cabet, Raspail,—these gentlemen were invited immediately to repair to the Hôtel de Ville. On their way thither, the mob were met by a body of the National Guard, called out by a written order of Bouchez, President of the Assembly. The insurgents were easily put to flight, without bloodshed. The leaders were arrested, thrown into prison, and subsequently condemned to punishment—among others, Barbés and Blanqui.

Closing of the national workshops.

The National Assembly voted the abolition of the workshops, which threw one hundred and fifty thousand excited laborers out of employ.

Prince Napoleon and Napoleon Murat.

At this time, Prince Napoleon appeared in Paris, and was elected member of the National Assembly. Napoleon Murat, only surviving son of King Murat of Naples, now arrived from the United States, and was also elected. Lamartine, from his place in the Assembly, protested against the re-admission of the Napoleons into France, and warned the country of its danger. His warning was disregarded, and Prince Napoleon took his seat. Lamartine was publicly accused of being in connection with the Red Republicans. He replied: "I am in connection with them as the lightning-rod is in connection with the thunder-cloud."

June days, 1848.

The great ulcer came to a head, June 22. The one hundred and fifty thousand laborers of the national workshops; all the discontented, far and near, who could get to Paris; the numbers augmented by no one knew how many foreign adventurers; the disciples of all the pantheist and materialist teachers from Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and the encyclopedists of Louis XV., intrenched themselves in the center of Paris—in the center of the world—behind barricades and in strong places, and prepared to renew the old French Revolution, with all its horrors; on a larger scale; and not to arrest it, as the other had been arrested, till its work should be wholly accomplished. The avowed object was a republic on the ruins of all other republics; of the existing civilization; and of Christianity. This was the fruit of the tree.

And so the Red Republic, cast down, but not destroyed, again reared its monstrous front. Paris trembled. Every one felt the need of a man who could be relied upon; a soldier willing and able to meet the danger. By the mercy of God, there was such a man; he was in Paris; and had been appointed Minister of War and commander-in-chief of all the military forces of France.

Cavaignac.

Cavaignac had been in Africa as Governor of Algeria; but on his election as member of the National Constituent Assembly, he hastened to Paris, where he arrived on the 17th, two days after the revolt of Blanqui. He found the city rising in revolution, and threatened with a new reign of terror. He had previously refused the appointment of Minister of War. It was now offered again, and in the hour of danger accepted. The battle was to be a most important one, and he took his measures. Within the walls of

Paris, he concentrated seventy-five thousand regular troops and one hundred and fifty thousand National Guards; total, two hundred and twenty-five thousand men; seventy thousand more than Napoleon took with him to Belgium, and nearly twice as many as that great soldier had at Waterloo.

The plan of the insurgents was formed with military skill. They were in possession of the central parts of Paris, and presented an almost impregnable front. Cavaignac stationed his force in four divisions. The main body, under his personal command, occupied the Place de la Concorde, and protected the National Assembly. The Hôtel de Ville was committed to the second division, under General Lamoricière; the two others to Generals Foucher and Bedeau.

The battle, 23d, 24th, 25th, 26th.

At day-break of the 23d, Paris was a city of barricades; barricade behind barricade—three hundred in number. The battle commenced at eleven. All day the town, enveloped in thick clouds of smoke, was shaken by salvos of musketry and heavy peals of cannon. The troops attacked again and again, and were driven back by storms of bullets, with great loss. A number of barricades were stormed, but the evening came at last, and no essential advantage had been gained. Paris waited in consternation, not diminished by the news, although incorrect, that similar insurrections were breaking out in the different provinces.

Cavaignac, Dictator.

The National Assembly was in session at day-break on the 24th. Pascal Duprat moved to declare Paris in a state of siege, and to name Cavaignac, Dictator. The motions were at once and unanimously adopted. Cavaignac accepted. The struggle was immediately renewed and, until ter-

minated, went on night and day. In the deep alarm, the executive committee and some members of the National Assembly, had proposed that troops should be sent to suppress similar outbreaks in the provinces. There were, moreover, in the Assembly, and even in the committee, various persons favoring the insurrection, and watching every opportunity to render it assistance. Cavaignac refused to weaken himself by sending away any of his troops. As a mere War Minister, he might have been removed, and Ledru-Rollin appointed in his place. As Dictator, he had a greater power, and no doubt would have used it, had any one attempted to dispute his commands. This inspired evil-minded persons with prudent respect, and enabled the great and honest soldier to act freely, without, as Wellington once said, "being more afraid of the enemy behind than of the enemy in front."

On the evening of the 24th, the insurgents had been driven back from the Hôtel de Ville; their pantheon fortification had been stormed, and General Demesne had gained possession of the left bank of the Seine; but the general was borne out of the battle dangerously wounded, and his command fell to General Bréa. In other parts of Paris, the struggle was continued. But on the 25th, Cavaignac thought the insurrection so far suppressed, that the moment was favorable for an attempt to arrest the flow of blood. He therefore sent General Bréa, accompanied by a single officer, Captain Mougin, to the barricades, with a white flag. The insurgents received them courteously, and invited them to an interview; but the moment they had them in their power, they arrested them as hostages, and announced their determination to put them to death if the government troops did not sur-

render. Both officers were shortly afterward shot (two of the murderers were subsequently discovered and guillotined).

Another victim fell in the same way on the 25th. Archbishop Affré (of Paris), in order to arrest the murderous struggle, asked of Cavaignac permission to repair to the Faubourg St. Antoine, the chief stronghold of the insurgents. Cavaignac gave the permission, but warned him of the danger. The noble martyr determined, nevertheless, to execute what he considered a Christian duty. At his appearance, clothed in full costume, a golden cross upon his breast, and bearing an olive-branch, the battle was a moment suspended, and he was invited behind the barricades. He must have immediately perceived that his life was in danger; for though some greeted him with kindness, others scowled in gloomy silence, or uttered dark threats. He commenced to address to them words of reason and peace. Suddenly, a drum was beaten, the battle was resumed, and the archbishop fell, shot by an unknown hand. As he was transported to the hospital, he heard a person threatening revenge. "*No, my friends,*" exclaimed the dying Christian, "*do not avenge me. Too much blood has been shed already.*" The shepherd giveth his life for the sheep. He died on the 27th. Cavaignac now said: "No more negotiations." He ordered a general attack. The principal remaining intrenchments were stormed, immense numbers were killed, and prisoners borne off by thousands. Although a complete victory of the troops was certain, a large body of insurgents in the suburb St. Antoine still held out. Cavaignac demanded an unconditional surrender before ten o'clock the next day. On the morning of the 26th, the insurgents, still holding out, their last intrenchment

was stormed, and the bloody battle ended in a complete rout. It is declared that, in their rage, they sawed in pieces the living bodies of some of their prisoners. The fighting had lasted seventy hours. The number of insurgents killed could not be ascertained. Bulle says, whether two thousand, five thousand, or ten thousand, no one can tell. Another report says, sixteen thousand killed and wounded. Weber says, from ten to twelve thousand dead. Between twelve and fourteen thousand prisoners were confined in the dungeons of the fortifications. Besides Bréa, six of Cavaignac's generals had been killed and two wounded. Lamoricière, in the course of the battle, had two horses shot under him. The outbreak cost France thirty million francs.

One can not read an account of this insurrection without considering whether the forces, which unceasingly burn and labor in the subterranean regions of society, are ever destined to new upheavals, on a larger scale, and with a successful result.

Cavaignac, Chief of the Executive.

Cavaignac, having saved the country, on June 28, laid down his dictatorship. The National Assembly expressed the thanks of the country, and appointed him Chief of the Executive; in other words, temporary President of France. He immediately selected a ministry, among whom were Lamoricière and Bedeau. No Ledru-Rollin in his Cabinet.

In acknowledgment of this great victory, it was proposed that Cavaignac should be appointed President of France. The motion would have passed; but Cavaignac declined, on the ground that his appointment was not confirmed by the expressed will of the nation.

The Assembly now completed the new Constitution. The three great questions in the debates had been:

I. Shall the right to receive work from the government be guaranteed to every Frenchman?

New Constitution, Nov. 4, 1848.

II. Shall the President of the Republic be elected by the National Assembly, or shall his election be decided by a popular vote?

III. One Chamber or two Chambers?

These questions were thus disposed of. The right to claim work was refused; but the welfare of the poorer citizens to be attended to by the Republic. The two-Chamber system rejected. The president to be elected by the people for four years. Every Frenchman, twenty-one years old, could vote, and be elected to the highest office. In place of the Constituent Assembly, a new Legislative Assembly was to be elected (seven hundred and fifty members).

Prince Napoleon, President, Dec. 10, 1848.

The election of president took place December 10, 1848. The candidates were, Prince Napoleon, Cavaignac, Lamartine, Ledru-Rollin, and Raspail. It became soon obvious that the struggle was between Prince Napoleon and Cavaignac. The former, to the surprise of France and the world, was elected by an immense majority. Out of seven million three hundred thousand votes, he received five and a half million. Cavaignac received one and a half million; Ledru-Rollin, three hundred and seventy thousand; Raspail, thirty-seven thousand; Lamartine, seventeen thousand nine hundred (fewer than Raspail). On December 20, 1848, Prince Napoleon entered upon his office as President of France (for a term which was to close December 20, 1852). The proceedings were interesting, and would have been more so, had the Assembly been favored with a glimpse into the future. Cavaignac first laid down his commission as provisional president. Ar-

mand Marast, President of the National Assembly, then called out the name of the newly-elected president, that he might administer to him the oath of fidelity to the one and indivisible democratic Republic. A man, as yet personally known but to few, short, awkward in his movements and gestures, heavy in his features and speech, with a face as unlike as possible that of the classically beautiful soldier whose name he bore, advanced and took the oath. He swore, "*before man and God, that he would be faithful to the Republic.*" When the official oath was completed, he voluntarily addressed a few words to the Assembly, and again solemnly declared, upon his honor, that he would fulfill his duty to the Republic as citizen and president. He then turned, and walked to the spot where Cavaignac was seated, seized his hand, and declared it his greatest pride to be the successor of such a man. Cavaignac bent his head, but answered nothing.

There were those two men; the one, honest, patriotic, seeking, by noble means, his country's good; the other, unprincipled, selfish, bent upon satisfying, by any means, a diseased ambition; the one had just saved France, and refused the presidency, because the offer had not come from the nation; the other, the conspirator of Strassburg and Boulogne, was about to grasp power by a bloody crime, and then to lead his country to destruction. What would the Assembly have said, had the curtain of the future been lifted, and December 2, 1851, and its natural consequence, September 2, 1870 (Sedan), been revealed? Why did France choose Prince Napoleon? First, from fear of the Red Republic. Had not Cavaignac shown himself strong enough? He had. But the election was decided by another, secret power—Rome.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE REVOLUTION IN GERMANY.

CONSEQUENCES IN GERMANY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF FEBRUARY, 1848 (EXCLUSIVE OF PRUSSIA AND AUSTRIA).

THE news of the Paris revolution had no sooner crossed the German frontier, than monster meetings began to be held by the Germans. One, in the Grand Duchy of Baden, addressed a petition to the Baden Landtag, containing the following demands: I. The people to be armed with a free choice of their officers. II. Liberty of the press. III. Jury trial. IV. Central German Parliament. Other populations added new demands. For example: I. The repressive police measures of the old Bundestag, and of the congresses of princes (Carlsbad resolutions, Vienna Schlussact, etc.), to be abolished. II. The army and all civil *employés* to swear to the Constitution. III. Unlimited liberty of conscience. IV. Abolition of every feudal privilege. V. A justly apportioned income-tax. These demands, in most cases, were instantly granted. When the government hesitated, the people rose and forced compliance with fire-brands, scythes, crow-bars, etc. In Bavaria, there was a sharp conflict, bullets and barricades; but the old King Louis abdicated (March 20, 1848), and his son, Maximilian II., granted the demands. The King of Würtemberg, one of the most Christian of all German States, had previously and gradually made

Revolution in Germany.

wise concessions, and there the storm blew over without any disturbance. Be it said, in passing, that tranquillity was preserved also in Belgium, where the French revolution of 1848 had caused a threatening agitation. King Leopold declared his readiness to abdicate, if the nation desired. His offer was refused. Reasonable reforms were accomplished. Some French Red Republicans attempted to convert the crisis into a revolution. They were seized by the Belgian troops, and politely invited to cross the frontier. The old Elector of Hesse-Cassel, Frederic William I., would listen to no demands. The people assembled by thousands, and gave him a certain time to answer, whether he would or whether he would not. He answered that he would not; but at last, he did.

Between the day of the French revolution (February 22) and March 18, nearly all the smaller German governments, to avoid being carried away like old bridges by the inundation, had adopted broad democratic platforms. Prussia and Austria had not. They stood like two ancient rocks, and let the billows break against their base.

Heidelberg Assembly, March 5, 1848.

Leading German statesmen, with other distinguished persons, met, by their own authority, at Heidelberg (Baden), and passed a resolution to call together a great National Assembly, under the name of a Fore-Parliament; that this Fore-Parliament might invite the German people to elect representatives for a great German Parliament, to be held at Frankfort-on-the-Main, with authority to frame a Constitution for Germany. The Fore-Parliament was requested to assemble at Frankfort on March 13. A committee was appointed. Heinrich von Gagern, Itzstein, Römer, Stadtmann, Welcker, and Willich, to super-

intend the affair. Then the Heidelberg Assembly separated.

The nation had thus taken the reins into its own hands. Germany, from a mere geographical phrase, was about to rise up into a mighty State.

Revolution in Vienna and Berlin.

A revolution took place in Vienna, March 13, 1848; and another in Berlin, March 18, 1848. These will be more particularly described hereafter. The reader must bear in mind, that Austria and Prussia were temporarily prostrated by these two revolutions, and that the people of the other States were thus able to act without the restraint which had controlled them since the Treaties of Vienna. The so long impatiently borne pressure being taken off, all Germany flew up.

Frankfort Fore-Parliament, March.

In obedience to the call of the Heidelberg Convention, six hundred persons assembled in Frankfort, principally professors, literary men, and members of the various State representative assemblies; among them, Uhland, Römer, Robert and Moritz Mohl (Würtemberg); Eisenmann (Bavaria); Struve, Hecker, Welcker, Mittermeyer, Soiron, Mathy, and Brentano (Baden); von Gagern and Zitz (Hesse-Darmstadt); Jordan (Hesse-Cassel); Robert Blum, Biedermann (Saxony); Heinrich and Ludwig Simon, Raveaux, Venedey (Prussia); Heckscher (Hamburg); Wiesner and Bissing (Austria). Here were already very opposite elements.

This, bear in mind, was not the Parliament, but the Fore-Parliament. The members had not been formally elected. They had no official commissions. They came voluntarily to represent the people, with the obvious consent of the great majority of the nation. They came to propose the best way of reaping the fruits of the revolu-

tion. In the old Empire, on great national occasions, the powerful princes had often assembled, with their followers, to choose an emperor, or to depose one. It was a sign of the time, that the people now, of their own authority, met to form a government for themselves. Their first sitting was March 31, in the Paul's Church in Frankfort; Mittermeyer, president; Dahlmann, Itzstein, Robert Blum, and Jordan, vice-presidents. This assembly sat only four days. It might, in fact, be called a great public meeting.

Proposal to abolish the monarchy.

The Republican party and, behind it, the French Red Republic, immediately tested its strength. Struve, seconded by eighteen colleagues, proposed that, in Germany, the hereditary monarchy should be abolished. The resolution was instantly voted down by an immense majority. The Assembly adopted another, offered by Eisenmann, namely: "The Assembly has no right to consider any resolution, except what has reference to the election of a Parliament with authority to frame a constitution."

The following points were determined: I. Every fifty thousand inhabitants, and every State less than fifty thousand, should send to the Parliament *one* representative.* II. Schleswig, as well as East and West Prussia, to be considered German territory. III. With regard to Poland, the question to be left open, whether Poland should send representatives. IV. The elections to take place by universal suffrage; but for the present, liberty left to each individual State to elect as it might deem

* Principality of Reuss, forty-four thousand inhabitants.
Principality of Schaumburg-Lippe, thirty-one thousand.
Free city of Lubeck, forty-nine thousand.
Principality of Lichtenstein, eight thousand three hundred and sixty-seven. This little State, in 1866, ceased to be a part of Germany.

proper. V. The elections without regard to rank, fortune, or religious opinion. Every German, including political offenders and refugees, eligible. VI. The Parliament, thus elected, should meet in Frankfort-on-the-Main within four weeks. VII. The Parliament to possess the *sole and exclusive right* to frame a constitution. The ratification of the separate State governments not necessary.

The Assembly then separated (April 3), after appointing a permanent Committee of Fifty for the purpose of superintending the execution of the resolutions of the Fore-Parliament.

Permanent Committee of Fifty, April 4.

The Committee of Fifty immediately met, and elected Soiron, president; Abbey and Robert Blum, vice-presidents.

The Bundestag, which yet remained nominally the executive power, had requested the State governments to appoint a committee of seventeen confidential advisers, that it might be made acquainted with the wishes of the nation. This was accordingly done. The committee consisted of the most distinguished men, and the Bundestag acted upon their advice. Before the meeting of the Parliament, this committee (of seventeen) dissolved itself. It had made several propositions: I. A universal arming of the people. II. Measures should be taken to create a German fleet. III. The outline of a new German Constitution, a hereditary Empire, a House of Lords, a House of Commons.

Seventeen confidence men.

The old Bundestag acquiesced in all the doings of the Fore-Parliament, and in all the inspirations of the committee. It hailed with an enthusiasm (too lively to be genuine) the day-break of German liberty. It issued a proclamation in

What the old Bundestag did.

this sense to the people. It raised the black, red, and golden flag of the revolutionary united Germany upon the very palace where its sessions had been held, and all its repressive measures had been adopted since 1815. It continued to exercise the powers of government, as if it had been the originator of all the reforms; as if the Heidelberg Convention, the great Fore-Parliament, the Committee of Fifty, and the revolutions of Vienna and Berlin, had been the realization of its long-cherished hopes and efforts. It recognized the new revolutionary government of Schleswig-Holstein, and roundly threatened Denmark for disregarding the rights of those two duchies. Prussia, yielding also to the revolutionary current, manifested her intention to march troops to the support of that revolution (April 3, 1848). As will be hereafter more particularly related, the Bundestag, no longer able to suppress its sympathy for that struggle, appointed Prussia agent of Germany, to aid, by military force, the Schleswig-Holstein war of independence. On March 3, it abolished the odious censorship, and proclaimed freedom of the press.

Those observers who perceived how things were going, could not help smiling at the jealous rivalry between the Committee of Fifty and the Bundestag in preparing for the new Parliament. Each acted as the chief power. The Bundestag could not suffer itself to be outdone by the Committee of Fifty in ardent anxiety to secure liberty. When the Committee was about to adopt a resolution, it found the Bundestag had got ahead of it, and had itself first passed the resolution. Or, if the Committee of Fifty had been too quick, and had got out its resolution first, the Bundestag issued a similar resolution, so that the public at large could not always tell which was which.

One thing the Bundestag did, in direct contradiction to the resolution of the Fore-Parliament. It issued the writs for the election of the new Parliament to the separate State governments, informing them that the Parliament was to frame a constitution *in co-operation with the princes*. The governments replied in the same spirit.

Remark on the Fore-Parliament.

In that resolution, which declared that the Parliament about to be elected should possess the sole and exclusive right to frame a constitution without the ratification of the separate State governments, the Fore-Parliament had but imitated the one-sidedness of the Congress of Vienna. The princes had said, we will act without the people, and now the people said, we will act without the princes. The Fore-Parliament, in this, made a mistake. Retaliation is always a false principle. The Fore-Parliament ought to have shown its superiority, by acting with fairness and wisdom. Instead of this, it proposed, on the side of the people, to use the same unfairness and disregard of existing circumstances, as the Congress of Vienna had shown on the side of the princes. A constitution of the princes without the people had been tried, and found impracticable. A constitution of the people without the princes was obviously just as impossible. The royal and military party was too strong to be excluded. The nation did not want them excluded, neither did it want revolution. A revolution, or a civil war, was far more feared by the German people than the maintenance of the monarchical principle limited by a fair representation. And who could be certain that revolution and war would not totally destroy the newly gained liberty and strengthen despotism? What the nation wanted was, a system of rational reform, and a popular representation, placing

them upon a level with England and America. Thinking men foresaw the failure of the Frankfort Parliament before it met. Many a noble enterprise is wrecked by attempting too much.

Committee of Safety.

The Committee of Fifty had soon found itself unable to control the turbulent movements of the Republican party. It therefore appointed an assistant Committee of Safety, whose mission was to see that the resolutions of the Committee of Fifty were properly executed by the States. But the Committee of Safety had no money or troops, and could neither enforce the decrees of the Committee of Fifty, nor secure respect for its own. It had grown out of the revolution, and one of its first obstacles was a new revolution to put down the old one, and raise a Red Republic.

Republic proclaimed in the Grand Duchy of Baden, April 12, 1848.

The immense reform which Germany had accomplished in less than two months, the convocation of a perfectly free Parliament, and the prospect of a liberal constitution, did not satisfy the extreme radical party. Struve and Hecker believed, not only that the Republic would prove a cure for the evils of Germany, but that it required only a bold appeal to bring the whole nation under that form of government. They therefore planted the Republican banner in the old city of Constance, Grand Duchy of Baden, April 12, and the Committee of Safety found itself in a dilemma. It must either be swept forward into a new socialist and far more bloody revolution, with no chance of success, or it must suppress the insurrection by the military force within its reach. It chose the latter course, placed General Friedrich von Gagern, brother of Heinrich, at the head of the troops of

Würtemberg, Bavaria, Baden, etc., met the insurgents at Kandern, and afterward at Dossenbach, and dispersed them. At Kandern, General von Gagern was killed before the commencement of the battle. He was shot by an unknown hand.

The radicals strove to effect a general uprising of the laboring classes. The masses were excited by startling reports of a *coup d'état*. The Poles, it was said, were fighting in Prussia. All eyes were turned toward Frankfort. The Parliament, it was hoped, would consolidate the revolution, and bring the country back to prosperity and peace.

Frankfort Parliament, May 18, 1848.

This Parliament is generally known as the German National Assembly; but as there were in Germany at the same time two other national assemblies, one in Berlin and one in Vienna, we shall, for the sake of clearness in the present sketch, call this the Frankfort Parliament. It met, May 18, 1848, in the Paul's Church, and held its last sitting, May 13, 1849. It sat, therefore, one year. The members entered the church in a solemn procession, surrounded by a vast crowd, and amid the tolling of all the bells of the city. Mr. Lange von Verden (Hanover), as the oldest member, was invited temporarily to the president's chair. The first incident was the reading of a communication from the Bundestag, in which that body expressed its lively satisfaction at seeing a German Parliament assemble in the city of Frankfort. Heinrich von Gagern (Hesse-Darmstadt), one of the noblest, most gifted, and honest men of Germany, was then elected president; von Soiron, vice-president. Both belonged to the nobility.

This was a great historic moment for Germany. Since

the war of liberation, the German people had vainly striven for a share in the government. Now they had it. The Parliament was a full representation of German culture, talent, character, and virtue. The dreaded universal suffrage, without much explosive material, had brought together the most eloquent orators, the most distinguished savants, and the highest men of the nation; among them, Dahlmann, Gervinus, Beseler, Bassermann, Jacob Grimm, Radowitz, Droysen, von Fincke, von Gagern, Simson, etc. The election demonstrated that the nation wanted only the long-promised constitution. The position was somewhat the same as that of France (1789), on the meeting of the States General. This Parliament was the reply to the Congress of Vienna. It sat in imposing grandeur to build up a new Germany, if not a new Europe. The people had passed through thirty years of the odious police government of the Bundestag. At last, they had met to frame a constitution according to their own wishes. The Parliament appeared in possession of absolute power. Prussia and Austria, as before remarked, were enfeebled by the revolutions. Austria, in particular, had been paralyzed by a gigantic struggle, to be described hereafter. The Holy Alliance had disappeared. Metternich had fled. The Bundestag itself, instead of being inspired by Metternich, now took its tone from the Committee of Seventeen, and awaited the stroke which was to end its existence (for the present). The banner of the united democratic Germany floated over the Parliament, and rose and fell on the breeze in the streets of Berlin and Vienna. One of the first acts of the Parliament was to declare itself sovereign in all questions concerning the Constitution about to be framed. It would not interfere with the internal administration

of separate governments; but those governments had no right to frame any constitution for their States in contradiction to the central government and constitution.

On May 31, the Parliament passed a resolution, that all nationalities were entitled to equal rights.

The next step was the creation of a central executive power. There was, thus far, no other legal executive than the old Bundestag, the final downfall of which had been one of the chief objects of the revolution.

Parties.

Of the various parties may be mentioned the Right, led by General von Radowitz (the personal friend of Frederic William IV.), von Fincke, Prince Lichnowsky, etc. This party demanded a constitution, not only in co-operation with the princes and State governments, but in their spirit. The Right Center advocated the sovereignty of the Parliament, but not without the co-operation of the princes. They wanted a constitutional, monarchical government. In this party were Dahlmann, Gervinus, Arndt, Beseler, Bassermann, Jacob Grimm, etc. The Left were republicans; the Extreme Left, radicals, who appeared to place their trust in the Red Republic, Carl Vogt, Zitz, Ruge, etc. Few in number, they were strong by their unanimity and determination to appeal to the mob, outside the legislative hall. Another party proposed to vest the executive power in a prince, responsible to the Parliament. Another demanded that, as the people had elected the Parliament without the princes, the princes should now elect the executive without the people. Another proposed to intrust the executive power to a committee of princes. The debates went on during eight days, growing louder and more excited, when, one day, President von Gagern

left the president's chair and, for the first time, entered the tribune. All parties listened with silent attention. He proposed that the Parliament should elect a prince as the provisional Chief Magistrate of the German Empire.

"The Parliament," said Mr. von Gagern, "can not decree a new revolution. We can not establish a Republic. We should be equally opposed by the princes and the people. We are not here to make the revolution, but to close it, and to free the land from the dregs of it. Our present state of anarchy must end. Unprincipled demagogues and bloody insurrections must no longer be permitted to disgrace our civilization. We can not trust the princes to appoint an executive. What kind of unity would Germany enjoy if the central power could not act without consulting thirty-seven governments and sixty or seventy first and second Chambers? The Reichsparliament stands upon the sovereignty of the people. The Parliament, convoked to frame a constitution for Germany without consulting the princes, must also appoint the provisional executive without consulting the princes. The executive must be created by a bold stroke (*ein kühner Griff*), independent of princes, governments, and Chambers. The central power of Germany, the representative of German unity, and the first step toward it, must be intrusted to the hands of a single person. But to whom? He must be one whose authority not only the people but the princes will acknowledge, irresponsible, but with a responsible ministry. The office of this chief magistrate, however, must be absolutely provisional. He and his ministers must have no right to vote with regard to the framing of the constitution, and the term of his office must expire the very moment the constitution is framed.

"I propose the Archduke John of Austria, as the provisional regent of the German Empire, not because he is a prince, but notwithstanding that he is a prince."

Mr. von Gagern was then in the prime of life, a fluent and eloquent speaker. He carried his auditory and a great part of the whole country with him.

The reader can almost imagine he hears the Elector Frederic the Wise (1519) advising the election of Charles V. as Emperor of Germany.

The Parliament immediately passed the law by which the Archduke John became provisional regent of the Empire. Of five hundred and forty-six members, four hundred and thirty-six voted for him. The election was acquiesced in by the governments and countries, and by all parties, except the Extreme Left. The different parties, however, acquiesced from different standpoints. The Austrian members and the Ultramontane party voted for it unanimously. The reactionary party in general regarded it as a step in their favor, and however Prussia might appear to object, she could not but perceive that the Parliament was playing into her hands.

Archduke John of Austria, provisional regent of the German Empire, June 27, 1848.

The law contained the following clauses: I. The provisional executive shall act until the organization of a definitive government. II. He shall be commander-in-chief of the German army, with the right to appoint superior officers. III. He shall appoint diplomatic and consular agents to foreign countries. IV. Upon the assumption of his office by the regent of the Empire, the old Bundestag shall cease to exist. V. The election of the duke by the Parliament is made in the conviction that it will be approved by the separate State governments.

A deputation waited upon the duke to notify him officially. He replied, that he accepted the election, which, the Bundestag had already informed him, was approved by the German governments. The duke arrived in Frankfort, July 11, immediately appeared before the Parliament in the Paul's Church, and, after having heard the law read by which he had been appointed, declared he would obey its stipulations, and *cause others to obey them*. In Prussia, the news of the archduke's election was received with displeasure; by the royal party, because it seemed to subordinate Prussia to an Austrian prince; by the democratic party, because it placed an irresponsible prince at the head of Germany. Austria, as already said, did not object to see the revolutionary movement led by one of her own princes.

End of the old Bundestag.

The old Bundestag held its last meeting (at that time), July 12, 1848, and surrendered its powers into the hands of the regent. Mr. von Schmerling, the President of the Diet, and representative of Austria in the Frankfort Parliament, addressed to the duke the following remarks:

"The Bundestag, *in the name of the German governments*, surrenders its authority into the hands of your Imperial Highness. The German governments, whose only aim is the interest of the people, will cheerfully cooperate with the central executive in every measure proper to found and strengthen the power of Germany. With this declaration, the Bundestag considers the exercise of its functions terminated."

Upon the election of the duke, the Bundestag had immediately addressed a characteristic note, communicating to him that his election had been the work of Austria, Prussia, and the other German governments.

The regent immediately appointed his ministers: Prince von Leiningen, von Schmerling (late president of the Bundestag and confidential representative of the Austrian government), General von Peucker (a Prussian general), Heckscher, Duckwitz, von Beckerath, von Wahl.

The ministry.

The news of the duke's election had scarcely reached Berlin, when the Prussian cabinet made the following communication to the Prussian National Assembly: "His Majesty's government acquiesces in the election the more readily as the great majority of the Parliament was in favor of it. His Majesty's government does not doubt that the Parliament completed the election without the co-operation of the governments, only in consequence of the extraordinary danger of delay, and in the conviction that the German governments would not withhold their consent. His Majesty's government takes it for granted, that no attempt will ever be made to record this circumstance as a precedent."

Declaration of Prussia.

When this statement was read, Dr. John Jacoby protested against it in the name of the people.

The Austrian cabinet spoke still more plainly. It declared it "reserved the right to accept or refuse any resolution which the Frankfort Parliament might pass."

Declaration of Austria.

The old King of Hanover, the English Duke of Cumberland, declared he would "not oppose the plan to establish German unity, in the hope that the work would be one to which he could give his consent."

Hanover.

The Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt came out with yet greater boldness. His delegate demanded a provi-

sional executive, representing the princes, to hold the Parliament in check, and veto improper resolutions (as in the days of the Carlsbad decrees). The merriment occasioned by this proposition was so great, that the Grand Duke recalled his delegate.

Hesse-Darmstadt.

The Archduke John, an old soldier, had fought against Napoleon. He had always been an enthusiastic advocate of a united Germany. At a dinner given to Frederic William IV., in the Rhenish province (1842), he acquired general popularity by the toast: "*No Prussia! No Austria! One great united Germany, firm as her mountains!*" He now had an unexpected opportunity to aid in the realization of his wish.

The Archduke John.

The obvious, if not exclusive, duty of the Parliament was to frame a fundamental law, and a constitution, for Germany. Time ought not to have been wasted in discussing other subjects. The constitution, at the earliest possible moment, ought to have been laid before the State governments. There was a time when thrones and armies were so alarmed, that a fair compromise might have been agreed upon. The Parliament neglected to do this. The debates were extended by the number of speakers, the length of the speeches, and the introduction of motions, which only disturbed. No one would abandon his newly-acquired right to address the nation. Many speakers purposely prolonged the proceedings in order to gain time for the reaction. The proceedings were, moreover, unavoidably interrupted by startling public events, and the burning questions which grew out of them. The debates on the fundamental law and the constitution did not commence till nearly two months after the Parlia-

Course of the Parliament.

ment had assembled. They began on July 4, 1848, and ended March 28, 1849. It was then too late. By the time the lofty pinnacles were placed upon the roof, the foundation had been swept away.

Without expecting, in so rapid a sketch, a detailed account of the proceedings, the reader will be interested by a few glimpses into the Paul's Church at the period when these burning questions were introduced; sometimes, by unskillful politicians, in vain attempts to establish the authority of the Parliament; sometimes, by designing enemies, who threw in bomb-shells only to blow it into the air.

Burning questions.

On July 29, the following resolution was passed: "Resolved, that on a certain day, all the German troops in the different German States, should do homage to the Duke John, as Imperial provisional regent. Wherever the German flag was raised, in each State, the flag of that State should be lowered before it." The order was complied with in some of the smaller States. In others, the governments resisted, but were compelled by the Chambers. In many, no notice was taken of the resolution. The German flag waved on the summit of many a fortress and tower in Prussia; but the broad black and white pennon of the House of Hohenzollern waved at its side, if not above it, without being lowered. The order furnished the Prussian government an opportunity to proclaim a secret which, like many secrets, was already known to every attentive observer. The princes intended, at the proper moment, to resume their power. The King of Prussia not only disregarded the resolution of the Frankfort Parliament, but countermanded it by an order; and a short time subsequently, at a public dinner in Cologne,

The flag of Central Germany.

declared: "I shall never forget what a great work President von Gagern has been called to accomplish; but let him never forget that there are princes in Germany, and that I am one of them!"

Alliance proposed with France, July, 1848.

The Left proposed an offensive and defensive alliance with the French Republic. The majority negatived the proposition. It was determined to recognize the French Republic, and to send to Paris a diplomatic representative. The rejection of the proposed alliance was regarded as an insult to the revolution. The demagogues in the Parliament, and the demagogues on the outside, were watching every mark of moderation, and using them to throw into the minds of their people exaggerated reports of an approaching counter-revolution. When this French alliance was proposed, Cavaignac had just suppressed the frightful communist insurrection of June; France was still in a most agitated and uncertain state, and Prince Napoleon about to be elected president.

Austrian and Italian war.

On the very 18th of March, 1848, when the Prussian people rose in Berlin, the people of Austrian Italy rose at Milan. The question of nationalities was one of the most agitating. Prussia, Austria, Russia, held under their scepter a part of the Polish nation. Denmark had endeavored to efface the independence and language of nearly a million Germans in Schleswig-Holstein, and it was the policy of Austria to absorb into her own empire, which contained only a few million Germans, various heterogeneous provinces, comprehending many million Slavonians, Magyars, and Italians. The revolutionary party within the Parliament defended the right of nationalities to be independent, and demanded that Austria should be compelled to

grant liberty to the Italians. Since the days of Napoleon, Italy had more particularly attracted the sympathy of mankind. Her geographical position, her historical associations, her beautiful language, her steady hatred of the Austrian yoke, marked her peninsula as the natural seat of an independent empire. Her indefatigable exertions had induced the Austrian government to rule with an ever-increasing severity, and so the young Italy, with her loins girded, her shoes on her feet, and her staff in her hand, waited the moment of her deliverance. The revolutionary party in the Assembly proclaimed that this moment had now arrived. The Parliament itself had declared all nationalities entitled to their rights, and the Left demanded that the National Assembly should support the insurrection in Lombardy, if necessary, with troops.

General von Radowitz opposed the resolution. This gentleman, a distinguished soldier, had fought at the battle of Leipsic, and had been accredited to the Bundestag as military plenipotentiary of Prussia. He declared that the Venetian territory to the Mincio was indispensable to the safety of Germany. It was a military position which Germany ought not to abandon to any foreign power. Otherwise, Upper Italy would fall under the hegemony of France, and Lower Italy, under that of England. To give up the Italian Tyrol to Italy, would be to give up the front door-key of your house.

The majority of the Assembly, impressed with the necessity of losing no time in forming the constitution, rejected the proposition, and referred the settlement of the question to the central power.

To this explosive question was added another. The Left demanded a recognition of the independence of

Poland. Prussian Poland had already been declared German territory, and twelve Polish members were now waiting for admission into the Parliament. The Left had committed the task of pleading the cause of Poland to Arnold Ruge, who, in the palmy days of the old Bundestag, had suffered an imprisonment of six years in the Prussian fortress of Colberg, for participation in the revolutionary society of students (Burschenschaft). With powerful, and sometimes truthful, eloquence, Ruge called upon the Assembly to profit by the present opportunity to undo the wrong which the three Great Powers had inflicted upon this unfortunate country; to deliver the Poles from their oppressors, and give to Poland a separate, independent government. Great was the emotion throughout nearly the whole Assembly as the speaker painted in vivid colors the wrongs, the miseries of this people, the crimes which had been perpetrated against them, the promises which had been made to them and broken, the hopes which had been awakened and betrayed. "Half a million Poles, suffering and trampled upon, kneel, even while I speak, at the gates of Germany, and ask for sympathy and assistance."

Poland, July 27, 1848.

The young Prince Lichnowsky, himself a Pole, whose subsequent fate surrounds his name with interest, spoke on the other side of the question. 'The Poles," he said, "were invariably the first at every barricade; the leaders in every European revolution; and they now ask admission into the Parliament, only that they may go hand-in-hand with the Left in carrying on the revolution to its furthest extreme." The Left cried out that, "what Lichnowsky had advanced as a reproach, they proclaimed as a merit."

After violent debates, the twelve Polish members were admitted as members of the Parliament. Hecker, who had headed the first Baden insurrection, was now, by the Baden revolutionary party, elected member of the Frankfort Parliament. *Hecker, Aug. 7, 1848.*

On August 7, the Left brought forward a proposition, demanding a general amnesty for political offenses, and that Hecker should be admitted to his parliamentary seat. The debates were so stormy, that the president adjourned the House for the day. On the following morning, the gallery being crowded with spectators from without, the tempest broke forth with renewed fury. An insult, offered by Brentano to the name of the Prince of Prussia (late Emperor of Germany), raised such an uproar of applause on the one side, and indignation on the other, that the president ordered the galleries to be cleared, and was afterward compelled again to adjourn the sitting. The radical party members more and more betrayed the determination to force their resolutions through, by fear of the mob outside the building. This was the state of the Parliament when a new and more startling event shook it to its foundation.*

* A request had been communicated to the Government of the United States to send to Germany an experienced naval officer, who could advise with regard to the creation of a German fleet. Commodore Parker, accordingly, arrived in Berlin, and the writer was deputed to accompany him to Frankfort. On reaching that city, we were duly announced to the Archduke John, Provisional Regent of the German Empire, and to Mr. von Gagern, President of the Parliament. An invitation immediately called us to Paul's Church, where the Parliament was in session. On reaching the square, President von Gagern, accompanied by a number of the principal members, came out of the building and, there in the square, received us with the greatest courtesy. We were then led into the hall, where convenient seats were assigned, whence we had a full view of the Assembly, with its various celebrated personages, including nearly all the talent and learning of Germany; some distinguished by their antecedents, others by their subsequent history. We could almost imagine the States General of France (1789). Among those present were Dahlmann and Gervinus, the historians; Jacob Grimm, the great philologist (these three of the Göttinger seven); Carl Vogt, the eminent

scientist and atheist; Prince Lichnowsky (a few days afterward massacred in the street); Robert Blum, little dreaming that he would soon be tried by court-martial and shot (Vienna, November, 1848), etc., etc.

The object of this note is to make a personal statement, in reply to a charge at that time advanced against the writer by some of the revolutionary party, viz.: that he had prejudiced Commodore Parker against the Federal Government. A moment's consideration will suffice to show that there could be no reason in this charge. It was the writer's duty, when required by a representative of his government, to give, as a faithful witness in a court of justice, true information. It had already become apparent to most thinking men, that the German Federal Government, as then organized, represented a transition period; and that, with the Parliament, it would soon disappear. What is the use of a diplomate abroad who fails to give his government correct information?

If not too insignificant a circumstance, we may add that we were invited in the evening to a *soirée*, at the residence of the Archduke John. On taking leave, the duke slapped the writer kindly on the shoulder, and said, laughing, "Good-night, Mr. Fay. I shall soon see you in *Berlin*." It was not quite clear what he meant by those words.

A visit to the Paul's Church made by the writer, one Sunday morning, about thirty-five years later, offered a striking illustration of the kaleidoscope changes of political positions. All the paraphernalia of the Parliament, a large proportion of the members, indeed the most prominent characters then active on the scene in Germany, had passed away, including kings, princes, emperors, generals, and statesmen. Instead of the President's seat, the tribune, the galleries, there stood the pulpit, the altar, the old-fashioned pews. Instead of the furious shouts of orators and the fiery glances of ministers, there were heard a minister from a different kingdom, preaching peace and love; and the soft voices of a large class of Sunday-school children, joining in hymns of prayer and praise to God.

CHAPTER XXIII.

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN.

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN TO THE ARMISTICE OF MALMOE.

BEFORE the reader can clearly understand the Armistice of Malmoe, it will be necessary to glance back at the war of Prussia against Denmark.

Schleswig-Holstein war between Germany and Denmark, April 3—Aug. 20, 1848.

At one period (1660), Denmark had become a pure despotism. The rights of the whole nation, and of course those of its dependencies, the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, were not respected. In 1813, a great financial crisis led to a partial State bankruptcy.

Frederic VI., 1784-1839.

Frederic VI., King of Denmark, reigned either as regent or king, fifty-five years, thus during the old French Revolution and Napoleon wars. Unfortunately for the monarchy, he sided with Napoleon I., or at least refused to join the coalition against him. The Congress of Vienna, as we have seen, took Norway from Denmark, and added that country to Sweden as a compensation for the support the latter had rendered against Napoleon.

It had been for a long time the effort of Denmark to absorb the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein completely into her own monarchy. The revolutions of 1848 found the one million five hundred thousand Danes eagerly engaged in an unjust attempt, in defiance of long-established legal rights, to incorporate Schleswig and Holstein,

with their whole German population, into her kingdom; to force upon them the Danish instead of the German language, and to change, in their schools and churches, not only their language, but their old customs and historical associations. Denmark had been impelled into this course by her wish to resume her rank among the European powers. While the desire of the duchies for complete deliverance from Denmark increased with the liberal tendencies of the age, their complete incorporation became more and more a favorite object, not only with the Danish throne and nation, but particularly with the Danish democratic party. The cry, "Denmark to the Eider," grew louder and louder, and was mingled with cries: "Denmark to the Elbe." Centuries of strife had already inspired Danes and Schleswig-Holsteiners with mutual antipathy. The duchies not only hated the Danes, but loved the Germans, and wished to enter the German Confederation as a separate State. And Denmark did not conceal her intention not only to incorporate Schleswig, but to tear Holstein from Germany, and submit it to the same fate. It was, for the duchies, a question of nationality as well as of political freedom. In Germany, the subject caused much excitement. The German revolutionary party, and the great body of the German nation, sympathized with Holstein in her endeavors to throw off the Danish yoke. Austria, from her distant position, had no direct, but a strong negative interest. She did not want the duchies, but she did not want Prussia to obtain them. If the Sandwich Islands, from their position, as some American statesmen have declared, naturally belong to the United States, Austria might well fear, on the part of Prussia, a similar idea with regard to Schleswig-Holstein. Their incorporation into Prus-

sia would give to that kingdom a preponderance in Germany which for centuries she had sought, and which it had been the policy of Austria to prevent. The European sovereigns, who also had no reason to wish a strong, united Germany, particularly under Prussia, took the part of Denmark, nominally to preserve the balance of power, and to maintain, as far as possible, the Europe constructed by the Congress of Vienna. It was, in fact, a movement of the Holy Alliance; England with the rest.

The injustice inflicted upon Schleswig-Holstein by the Congress of Vienna had always been a subject of humiliation to the German people. Under the severe police of the old Bundestag, they had few opportunities to express their sentiments, which nevertheless sometimes appeared in a toast, a speech, or a song.

The celebrated song, "*Schleswig-Holstein meerumschlungen*," was first sung, July 24, 1844, at the singers' festival in Schleswig, and has since then remained the national song of the Schleswig-Holsteiners. It became universally popular as events unfolded themselves. Chemnitz, the author (1851), was ordered out of the duchies.*

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* We give two verses :

"Schleswig-Holstein meerumschlungen
Deutscher Sitte hohe Wacht
Wahre treu was schwer errungen
Bis ein schön'rer Morgen tagt.
Schleswig-Holstein, stammverwandt
Wanke nicht mein Vaterland.

"Ob auch wild die Brandung tose
Flut auf Flut, von Bai zu Bai,
Oh lass blühn in deinem Schoosse
Deutsche Sitte, deutsche Treu.
Schleswig-Holstein stammverwandt
Bleibe treu mein Vaterland." Etc., etc.

The Danish people, in common with other European nations, grew more and more impatient for an extension of rights and a representative government. King Frederic VI., alarmed by the French revolution of 1830, had attempted to satisfy them by the introduction of Provincial Estates as consultative assemblies (1831–1834). These were extended to the two duchies.

Christian VIII., King of Denmark, Dec. 3, 1839.

On the death of Frederic VI., Christian VIII. ascended the throne. He pursued with increased energy the policy of his predecessor, the fusing of all the different Danish territories, including Schleswig-Holstein and Lauenburg, into one homogeneous monarchy. Denmark appears to have pursued neither a generous nor an honest policy, but a policy of oppression as injudicious as unjust. One can not, without surprise, behold the Danish sovereign, statesmen, and people—yes, the Danish democratic party, even while struggling for their own rights, uniting in such an arbitrary policy against the duchies; and that at a time when Europe was kindling with ideas of liberty and of nationalities, and when revolution was everywhere threatening to break forth.

NOTE—(Continued).

[*Free Translation.*]

"Schleswig-Holstein! seas surround thee!
Watch-tower of the German right!
Though thy foes with bands have bound thee,
Bear thee nobly in the fight!
Schleswig-Holstein! firmly stand!
Yield not! O my fatherland!

"Though the stormy surges, raving,
Roll and roar from bay to bay;
Keep thy German banner waving!
'Soon will dawn a brighter day.
Schleswig-Holstein! steady stand!
Yield not! O my fatherland!"

No doubt the duchies would long previously have been incorporated, but for the union existing between Schleswig and Holstein, and between Holstein and the Germanic Confederation. The project of absorption was not on that account abandoned, only it was more slow. As it had been steadily pursued and was favored by the powers of Europe, the prospect for the duchies was gloomy enough.

One hope, however, remained. According to the Danish law of succession of 1660, both the male and female line could inherit the Danish throne; whereas, the duchies were male fiefs. Upon the extinction of the *male* line of the Danish royal family, therefore, the connection between Denmark and the duchies would be broken off, and Schleswig and Holstein would be united as an independent State under a prince of their own.

Christian VIII., who, as already stated, ascended the throne in 1839, had one son, afterward Frederic VII., and this son (Frederic) was childless. After him, there was no male heir to the throne. The Danish crown, therefore, on the death of Frederic VII. would fall to Prince Frederic of Hesse, the next heir in the female line. The duchies, in which the female right of succession did not exist, would fall to the next male heir on the royal side line,—namely, the Duke Christian von Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg.

Open letter of Christian VIII., July 8, 1846.

The Great European Powers, however, looking more to the maintenance of Denmark in its present rank among the nations, and to the suppression of revolutions, than to the right and wishes of the duchies, threw their weight into the Danish scale. Emboldened by their influence, and not very sincerely opposed by the governments, either of

Austria or Prussia, or the German Bundestag, Christian VIII. made what was, no doubt, intended to be a master-move, and which appeared suddenly to destroy all the hopes and rights of the unfortunate duchies. He published a proclamation or patent, called an open letter (July 8, 1846), in which he declared the unity of all the Danish provinces, including Schleswig and Holstein; that the law of succession in Schleswig, of 1660, should be modified to correspond with that of Denmark (that is, the female line, contrary to law, should reign in Schleswig), and that, although some obstacles existed to the introduction of the Danish law of succession into Holstein, it was hoped they would be speedily removed.

The open letter caused the deepest indignation in Schleswig-Holstein, and throughout all Germany. It immediately brought forth a protest from the agnates (heirs in the male line). The Provincial Estates of Holstein petitioned the German Bundestag, for which they were immediately dissolved by the King of Denmark. The Bundestag, on the infliction of such an obvious wrong upon a member of the Germanic Confederation, could not but remonstrate in the name of Holstein. It addressed (September 17, 1846) a very diplomatic remonstrance to the Danish government, expressing the hope that his Danish Majesty, in executing the change proposed in his open letter, would respect the rights of the agnates, and particularly of the German Confederation.

The Holstein question agitated Denmark and all Germany. One Danish party demanded the instantaneous incorporation of the two duchies by force; another, considering that of Holstein impossible, agitated for Schleswig alone (which involved the separation of the duchies from each other). The Schleswig-Holsteiners demanded

a complete forcible separation of both duchies from Denmark. King Christian resolved, as the best means of satisfying all parties, to grant a new and really liberal constitution, to be equally valid in all the Danish provinces, including Schleswig-Holstein. Before he could publish this constitution, he died (January, 1848).

Frederic VII. of Denmark, Jan. 20, 1848.

Christian VIII. was followed by his son Frederic VII., whose first act on ascending the throne was the publication of an outline of the constitution previously framed by his father.

The duchies, however, did not consider any constitution an equivalent for the loss of their independence. The hatred of their ancient oppressor only increased. They saw but two alternatives—complete submission to Denmark and permanent abandonment of their nationality, or revolution. This was the state of Schleswig-Holstein when the Paris revolution of 1848 broke out.

On March 18, Berlin, on the 21st, Copenhagen, were in the hands of the people. The first act of the democracy, after it had got possession of the Danish government, was to attempt the final and complete destruction, once and forever, of the rights of Schleswig-Holstein, and to accomplish by force the work of absorption.

Revolution in Schleswig-Holstein.

On the news of the French revolution, a monster meeting of the people in Copenhagen sent an address to the king, demanding the firm maintenance of the right of Denmark to Schleswig. The meeting also asked for a new ministry. The king yielded. So the hopes of Schleswig seemed forever destroyed. The duchies, however, were also up. On March 21, they sent a deputation to demand of the king that the two duchies should be forever released from the merely personal union which had

existed between them and the king. On arriving at Copenhagen, the members of the deputation would have been torn to pieces by the mob, had they not placed themselves under the protection of the British consul.

The king gave an answer on the 24th, to the Schleswig-Holstein deputation. The petition was in general granted, as far as Holstein was concerned; but the inseparable union of Schleswig and Denmark was determined upon, and would be strengthened by a common constitution. That might appear a considerable concession; but the duchies did not take it so. Each duchy was determined, not only to break away from Denmark, but to maintain its union with the other. The answer was no sooner known than the revolution broke out. The German and Schleswig-Holstein flag appeared everywhere. A large part of the troops joined the movement, and a provisional government was formed, Prince Frederic of Schleswig-Holstein-Augustenburg at the head. The prince assumed the command-in-chief of the army. The strong Danish fortress of Rendsburg was seized. The Danish officers fled, or were taken prisoners.

The Danish government could easily have suppressed this insurrection, had it been able to deal with the duchies alone. In fact, they had no means to resist, and depended on foreign aid. A Danish force of fourteen thousand men soon entered Schleswig, and an effective fleet prepared to co-operate. In April, the Schleswig-Holstein army, increased to seven thousand by volunteers from Germany, and encouraged by the assurance that the German Bundestag and the King of Prussia were coming to their assistance, met their enemy near Flensburg, but were defeated with heavy loss.

On March 21, as related in a future section, the King

of Prussia, during a ride through the principal streets of Berlin, had proclaimed himself the head of the united Germany, strong, free, and mighty. How could he now resist the loud and universally-expressed opinion of Germany, and abandon a million Germans about to be forcibly and illegally incorporated into the territory of a foreign monarchy.

Schleswig-Holstein asks aid from Prussia. War of Prussia against Denmark, March 24, 1848.

A deputation from Schleswig-Holstein reached Berlin, March 24, six days after the conflict (yet to be related) in the streets of Berlin, and two days after the public interment of the two hundred victims who had fallen on the side of the people. The Prussian Cabinet had gladly seen the arrival of this deputation. It was an opportunity for the king to suit the action to the word. At that moment, he could in no way more enthusiastically re-awaken the sympathy of the German nation than by taking up the cause of Schleswig-Holstein. A war in support of their rights was in accord with his generous and noble character, and that he had no double purpose, is evident from the frank openness with which he answered the deputation. His Majesty said: "In the affair of Schleswig-Holstein, I consider three points to be beyond dispute. I. The duchies are independent States. II. They are inseparable. III. Only the male line can reign."

Nearly the entire German nation rejoiced at this war. From all parts of Germany, in the streets of cities, and on the roads, at all hours of the day and night, were heard fragments of the song:

"Though the stormy surges, raving,
Roll and roar from bay to bay;
Keep thy German banner waving!" Etc., etc.

The Prussian guard, who had been humiliated by the order to leave Berlin on March 19, hailed an opportunity to acquire glory by redressing a great wrong; and the Prussian Cabinet saw, with pleasure, a large body of troops, maintained and exercised with the consent of the nation.

On April 12, the yet existing Bundestag, under the pressure of public opinion, had passed a resolution to admit Schleswig into the German Confederation, to recognize the provisional government of the duchies, and to commit the conduct of the war to Prussia. The King of Prussia appointed the old General Wrangel commander-in-chief of the German forces. Wrangel immediately marched his troops into Holstein, defeated the Danes, occupied Schleswig, and, after a hot battle, thoroughly defeated the Danes again. The German troops were then in full possession of Schleswig. Wrangel crossed the frontier of Jutland, and entered Denmark proper without seeing any Danish troops. The Danes were thus driven out of Schleswig-Holstein. The duchies, at last, were victorious and free.

Interference of the European powers.

But Denmark had also sought and obtained help. She had formed an alliance with Russia, Sweden, and England. These powers now demanded that Wrangel should retire, with his troops, from Jutland, which he did. A part of the Danish army immediately followed them, and were severely defeated and driven back by the Generals von Bonin and von der Tann. Denmark declared the whole German coast in blockade, and seized every Prussian ship. The superiority of Denmark on the water, and of Prussia on the land, drew from Frederic William IV. the remark that the war was like a fight between a dog and

a fish. On May 28, the Danes surprised a body of German troops at the Dueppelheights, and compelled them to retreat. A Russian fleet appeared on the coast. Sweden landed five thousand troops on the Island of Fuenen, and at Malmoe held an additional force of fifteen thousand. (Malmoe, a sea-port town of Sweden, on the Sound, nearly opposite Copenhagen, about twenty-five miles distant.) The Great Powers were determined to put an end to the war.

These events caused extraordinary excitement throughout Germany, and particularly in the Frankfort Parliament, already the scene of so much violent agitation.

Resolution of Frankfort Parliament not to make a peace.

On June 8, a resolution was carried in the Frankfort Parliament, that the war should be continued, and no peace concluded not in harmony with the honor of Germany.

Armistice of Malmoe, August 26, 1848.

In the midst of this excitement, the Parliament and the whole German nation were astounded by the news that Prussia had concluded a seven months' armistice.

The following were among the conditions: I. Abolition of all laws and ordinances made in the duchies since March 17. II. A new government in the duchies, Prussia to appoint two members, Denmark two members, and these four to appoint a president. III. Evacuation of the duchies by the Danes. IV. Two thousand German troops to remain in the duchies. V. Separation of Schleswig troops from the Holstein troops. VI. Prussia to name one commissioner and Denmark another, to reside in the duchies.

The indignation caused by the armistice of Malmoe was indescribable. Not only the Revolutionary party, but nearly all parties, were loud in disapprobation.

Schleswig-Holstein had been abandoned and betrayed. Germany had been dishonored. The more the details were examined, the more they were found detestable.

Consequences of the armistice of Malmoe in Frankfort.

The person selected as the head of the new Schleswig-Holstein government was Count Karl Moltke,* the most determined champion of Denmark's incorporation policy; and the armistice had been concluded for seven months, just during the period when Denmark was unable to use her fleet. Thus, at the very moment when the duchies had been freed from Denmark, they were re-delivered into her hands. The whole thing looked like a premeditated insult, and a derisive defiance to the Revolutionary party. Dahlmann offered a resolution that the armistice should be rejected, and the order for the withdrawal of the troops from the duchies countermanded.

The resolution was carried by a small majority of radicals, but it was much easier to vote such a resolution than to execute it. The Imperial ministry of Duke John, who had declared in favor of the armistice, immediately resigned. Mr. Dahlmann was invited to form a new ministry, but he found it impossible. Several days were thus passed, and before a ministry could be formed, the evacuation of the duchies by the Prussian and German troops was completed. The moderate members of the Parliament had thus time to reflect that opposition was useless and even dangerous. The revolution was waiting, within the Parliament as well as without, to strike a new blow. The Parliament itself had never possessed power

* This Count Karl Moltke died April 12, 1866. He must not be confounded with the distinguished Prussian Field-marshal Count Bernhardt von Moltke, who organized the Prussian plans of campaign in 1866 and 1870.

to enforce its decrees, and the influence it had at first exercised was diminishing every day. General Wrangel, at the head of his victorious dragoons, would only laugh at a parliamentary order to disobey his sovereign, and the Prussian troops asked nothing better than an opportunity to retaliate upon the Revolutionary party, the humiliation it had suffered on March 19. Prussia was ready to measure swords with the Parliament, if the latter desired. Whatever might be the result of a prolonged conflict, every thinking member knew it must be disastrous. The hope of a solid reform would be as much defeated by a revolution as by a reaction. Frederic William IV. was *unable* to continue the war against Denmark, Russia, Sweden, and England. He began to regard Schleswig-Holstein as identified with the revolution which was becoming more and more tumultuous in his own metropolis, so that he desired to recall his troops to Berlin. Moreover, Germany really required a suspension of hostilities. The Danish fleet blockaded the North German coast, and was inflicting heavy injuries upon her commerce. Foreign enemies were bad enough, but a reckless revolution would be worse. A new resolution to cancel the previous one, and to approve the armistice, was accordingly brought forward. Here were three days of stormy debates, which left little chance for the debates on the constitution. It was stated by those in favor of accepting, that Denmark had proposed several important concessions, and that Count Karl Moltke had declined his appointment as chief of the Schleswig-Holstein government. Prince Lichnowsky spoke words of peace and conciliation. Karl Vogt, the leader of the Extreme Left, uttered dark threats of a national convention, which had no other effect than to disgust the right-minded, and to

frighten waverers into the ranks of the reaction. The previous resolution, canceling the armistice, was now itself canceled by the votes of two hundred and fifty-eight members, and the armistice formally approved, September 16, 1848.

Outbreak in Frankfort, Sept. 17, 1848.

The news of this resolution spread rapidly through town and country. The streets were immediately crowded with insurgents. On the evening of the 16th, the mob insulted and roughly handled several members of the Parliament. The radical party had determined to explode the Parliament, to proclaim the republic, and re-open the revolution. A monster meeting was called on the Pfingstweide, a meadow near Frankfort. The two hundred and fifty-eight members who had voted to cancel the armistice, were branded as traitors. Sinister threats and ominous jests recalled the humor of Collot d'Herbois and Fouquier Tinville. A plan was agreed upon to bring the Parliament to a sudden termination. The multitude was to surround the Paul's Church, force their way into it, present a list of the members who had voted for the Malmoe armistice, demand their immediate expulsion, and that they should instantaneously quit the building. What was then to happen must be left to imagination. Some idea may be formed from what subsequently took place.

The Parliament had assembled and recommenced the debates on the constitution, when the proceedings were interrupted by the heavy tread of an armed mob rapidly approaching. Had not counter-measures been taken, there would have been a massacre. But in this crisis, the Imperial ministry had provisionally resumed their post. During the night, a body of Prussian and Austrian troops had been called from the neighboring fortress of Mayence

and other positions. As the mob advanced toward Paul's Church, they were suddenly brought to a stand by a military force, and, after a short opposition, dispersed. But they retreated only to make a better spring. In the course of the day, barricades were erected and a sharp conflict took place. The insurgents were defeated, but not without manifesting their rage by a brutal act. Prince Lichnowsky and General von Auerswald had ridden out of one of the town-gates, when they were recognized, and soon surrounded by the quickly-gathering, blood-thirsty hordes. They attempted to escape, but were pursued with hue and cry to the Bornheimer Heide, where they left their horses, and took refuge in the house of a gardener. Their pursuers soon ferreted them out, dragged them forth, and massacred them with horrible cruelty. Heckscher, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, a man of the people, who had been member of the Fore-Parliament and of the Committee of Fifty, saved his life only by the fleetness of his horse. "The Revolutionary party in the Parliament," says Dr. Weber, "has never cleared itself from responsibility with regard to this insurrection." The city was declared in a state of siege. Under the circumstances, the ministry consented to retain their places.

The Parliament was thus weakened. The Liberals were ashamed, as well as alarmed, at the course pursued by the Left. The Royal and Military party was strengthened. The nation was prepared to approve a reaction rather than a revolution.

A new subject now threatened the Parliament. Before describing it, we must again lead back the reader to the events in Austria consequent upon the French revolution of 1848.

Remark. The revolution of 1848 offered four entangled subjects for consideration, viz.: its effect on Germany; on Austria; on Prussia; and on France herself. The first we have already considered. We now go back to Austria, and then to Prussia.

These subjects required to be presented in four parallel lines, and in such an order as best to throw light upon each other, and principally upon Prussia.

All these, often apparently so disconnected events, were nevertheless working together to produce a grand historic result. Austria, by her victories, becomes inflated with an arrogant self-confidence, which prepares the way for her expulsion from Germany. France, by a successful crime, ascends for a moment to the summit of power, only to be cast down again into unprecedented humiliation. The German people, by failing in their first endeavor to organize a central government, enable Prussia to revive the old Empire, which stands to-day as a bulwark against war and anarchy.

The geologist, exploring the first commencement of creation, finds unfolding itself a wonderful symmetrical plan. There is reason to believe that, if all the unfoldings of history could be understood in their true juxtapositions, an equally wonderful plan would be revealed.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE.

AUSTRIA, FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1848 TO THE SUPPRESSION OF THE LAST VIENNA INSURRECTION AND THE DEATH OF ROBERT BLUM.

IT will be remembered that the last Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, Francis II., had laid down the German crown (1806), and taken the title of Francis I., Emperor of Austria. He died, 1835, and was succeeded by his son, Ferdinand I., as Emperor of Austria. Ferdinand was too feeble in mind and body to govern in that stormy period. The French revolution, as already stated, immediately kindled in Austria.

First revolution in Vienna, March 13, 1848.

In nineteen days, Vienna was in full insurrection. The frightened Emperor (Ferdinand I.) conceded every thing; gave arms to the people, freedom to the press, and a constitutional government to Hungary, which made that province almost independent of the Empire.

Austrian Italy, March, 1848.

The two Italian provinces of Austria,—namely, Lombardy and Venice,—rose, and drove out the Austrian garrisons from Milan and the City of Venice. Sardinia declared war against Austria (March 23). After a three days' campaign, the Austrian Field-marshal Radetzky ended the war by the victories of Mortara and Novara. Venice proclaimed the

republic (March 23). The city was besieged (blockaded), and surrendered, August 30.

The insurrections in Milan and Venice greatly increased the excitement in Vienna. The people rose again. The Emperor dismissed the "antediluvian," Metternich, who fled to England. He then granted a Constituent Assembly, to be elected by universal suffrage. Still the insurrection increased. The burgerwehr and students took possession of the government. The Emperor fled to Innspruck.

Second insurrection in Vienna, May 17, 1848.

A Congress of the Slavonic races had been sitting at Prague. The Czechs (pronounced *Tschechs*, the native race of Bohemia and Moravia) now profited by the difficulties of the Austrian government, and made exorbitant demands; not for the overthrow of despotism, but for the purpose of uniting all the Slavonic populations of Austria into one organization, which should be predominant in the Empire. They did not care for freedom. What they wanted was slavery; but they were to be the masters. It was a struggle between Czechenthum and Deutschthum,—that is, between the Slavic and the German elements. The insurrection broke out in Prague. Austrian troops, commanded by Prince Windischgraetz, after two days' hard fighting in the streets, withdrew to the neighboring heights, and during the two subsequent days, from that point, bombarded the city, which surrendered after great slaughter. During the conflict, the wife of Prince Windischgraetz and his son, having appeared at the window of a hotel, were both shot dead by an unknown hand.

Revolution in Bohemia, June 12, 1848.

The most important difficulty of Austria was Hungary. The French revolution of 1848 found no mine more ready for the match. Kossuth, Count Louis Batthyanyi, and

many other eminent leaders, had long agitated for independence. At the moment of Louis Philippe's fall, the struggle had reached its crisis. *Hungary.* Under the pressure of the first insurrection of Vienna, Ferdinand had, as we have seen, made great concessions; but the cabinet of Vienna immediately commenced to take them back. It attempted to play the nationalities against each other. Croatia and Hungary had been united, but the Magyars hated the Croatians, and the Croatians and Slavonians returned their hatred with interest, and branded the Magyars as an Asiatic horde. Jellachich had been appointed Ban (Vice-King of Croatia). By secret intrigues, the Slavonians, both in Austria and Russia, were instigated to rise against the Magyars. The latter people had received their independence from the Emperor, and, proud and self-confident, were determined to maintain it. They formed an alliance with the revolution in Vienna.

The new Constituent Assembly promised by Ferdinand, elected by universal suffrage, was opened in Vienna by the Archduke John. All the heterogeneous provinces, many eager for war with each other, sent members—Slaves, Poles, Germans, Magyars, Czechs, Croatians, revolutionists, aristocrats, nobles, ultramontanes, communists, peasants. Many could not understand each other. Thirty-two Galician peasants were unable to read or write. This motley assembly formed a singular contrast to the stately congress of sovereigns and ministers which had there sat, 1814 and 1815. *New Constituent Assembly in Vienna, July 22, 1848.*

The revolution in Prague had been crushed by Windischgraetz; Milan and Venice, recovered by Radetzky; the Sardinian army defeated at Custozza; and Lombardy and

Italy had been again subjugated by the Austrian sword. The Sardinian king, Charles Albert, had paid fifteen million francs war expenses, and abdicated in favor of his son, Victor Emmanuel. The Emperor and court returned to Vienna. But the revolution had not subsided, and a new incident rekindled it with tenfold fury. The Hungarians had demanded the removal of Jellachich from the vice-kingship of Croatia. The Austrian government pretended to acquiesce, but secretly took measures to strengthen him in his position and plans against Hungary. By an intercepted correspondence between Jellachich and the Austrian war minister, Latour, the already excited people of Vienna obtained positive proof of the double game played against them, and that the Czechs and Croats were about to strengthen the Austrian troops in suppressing the Hungarian revolution. Count Lamberg, named by the Emperor commander-in-chief of the Austrian army in Hungary, repaired to his post; but on his arrival, was murdered by the people upon the bridge of Pest. The Emperor then named Jellachich commander-in-chief in his place. This nomination was regarded by the Hungarians as a new declaration of war. It carried their fury to the highest point. The people of Vienna sympathized with and determined to aid them. The war minister, Latour, had ordered a part of the Austrian army in Vienna into Hungary, and the troops were called together to commence their march. The third revolution now broke out. The students, the National Guard, and the people, violently opposed the departure of the troops. Some of the latter refused to go. Barricades were built, railroads torn up, cannon planted; the whole town rose. The people were already armed. Some of the military

Third and most formidable insurrection at Vienna, Oct. 6—Nov. 9, 1848.

joined. A slaughterous conflict took place. The mob stormed the War Department, in search of Latour, and thousands broke into the four-story building, and through the long corridors and suites of rooms. A party, with shouts of delight, at length found their victim, half concealed, in a dusty corner of the garret. They seized him and dragged him out. He begged for life; but a blow with a heavy hammer dashed his brains out. His mutilated corpse, stripped of clothing, was hanged upon a lantern-post. The Emperor, who had returned to Vienna, now fled again, this time to Olmütz. His departure was the signal for a terrified flight of all the upper classes, and of all moderate-minded men of every class who could get away.

The Austrian government had now the means to put an end to this insurrection. General von Auersperg, with a large body of troops, took a strong position near the city. Jellachich, with his Croats, speedily arrived, and stationed himself at another point. Prince Windischgraetz, named commander-in-chief of all the Austrian troops, except those stationed in Italy, and clothed with dictatorial power, arrived, with his army, and took command of the military operations. His forces amounted to seventy thousand men. The city, inclosed on every side, was declared in a state of siege. The insurgents awaited the struggle; some with the confidence of inexperience, others with the energy of despair. They counted upon a rising of the provinces. Messenhauser, a lieutenant of the Austrian army, commanded the National Guard; while General Bem, the Polish leader, afterward so famous in Hungary, conducted the defense. Large numbers of volunteers from all quarters, while it was yet time, had streamed into the town; among them, eager

throngs of foreign agitators and revolutionists, popular writers, and orators, etc. The barricades were crowded; houses, walls, towers, taken possession of; confidence was increased by the news, loudly proclaimed, "that the Hungarian government had sent a powerful Magyar army, which would instantly arrive, and sweep Windischgraetz and his feeble forces from the face of the earth. The German Parliament at Frankfort (it was also said) had appointed Robert Blum at the head of a deputation (among others, Froebel and Moritz Hartmann), with an address to the patriots of Vienna. Germany regarded the insurrection as a national rising of the German people, and would, no doubt, speedily send ample re-inforcements. All the German States would rise. Blum would command one of the corps in the approaching battle," etc., etc., etc.

Robert Blum.

Robert Blum, of Leipsic, was gifted with a certain kind of popular eloquence. He became the head of the revolutionary, or at least of the republican, party in Saxony. Leipsic sent him to the Fore-Parliament, which elected him one of its secretaries; he was afterward member of the Committee of Fifty, and then member of the Frankfort Parliament. When the news of this third Vienna revolution reached Frankfort, the revolutionary party in the Parliament sent him, with Froebel and two others, to present to the leaders of the Vienna insurrection an address of congratulation. The address was voted only by the radical party. Blum reached Vienna at the moment of the third outbreak, and was one of the last who found entrance within its gates. He handed the address to the revolutionary Municipal Council of Vienna, October 17, 1848, enrolled himself in the Academical Legion (the corps of

students), was immediately appointed captain, and fought in the terrible street battle which restored Vienna to the Imperial authority.

Notwithstanding the watchfulness of the revolutionary agents, a proclamation of Windischgraetz appeared posted up in many of the public places of Vienna. It ran thus: "*Your city is polluted with barbarities which fill the breast of every honest man with horror. It is in the hands of a small desperate faction, who do not shrink from any infamous atrocity. Your lives and property are exposed to a band of brigands. Leave them and return to the path of duty.*" *The battle.*

At the moment when this proclamation appeared, the dead body of a student was discovered horribly mutilated. (Had he detected the secret agents of Windischgraetz, and been consequently cut to pieces?) The two circumstances inflamed the revolutionary party with rage, not decreased by a second communication, a summons from Windischgraetz to surrender, and a promise of mercy, on the following conditions: "*The corps of armed insurgents and the Academical Legion to be dissolved. The commander of the Academical Legion and twelve students to be surrendered as hostages. Bem and the murderers of Latour to be delivered up for execution. Should these conditions be rejected, sentence of death against every one taken with arms.*" The conditions were rejected, and the conflict commenced and was a most bloody one. Sallies were continually made by the insurgents, and invariably beaten back. Piles of dead bodies were every night brought into the city, with immense numbers of wounded, for whom there was no help. Every night the sky was reddened with the glare of burning houses. These horrors were aggravated by

the terrorism exercised over all who desired to surrender. The students, the laborers, the National Guard, the free corps, the proletariat, the wild revolution-makers who had crowded into Vienna, defended the town with desperate resolution. From every window whence the enemy could be reached, blazed forth flames of fire and death. For more than a week the fighting went on night and day. In vain the insurgents watched for the great Hungarian army; for the uprising of the German and Austrian provinces; for the irresistible legion promised from the Frankfort Parliament. At length, food and ammunition were exhausted. The starving, wearied, wounded, blood-stained insurgents, surrendered at discretion. The treaty of surrender was formally signed. The troops advanced from all sides. The delivering up of the arms had already commenced. Piles of muskets had been returned to the arsenal, when a wild electric shout broke forth through the city: "*The Hungarians! The Hungarians!*" A watchman, from the summit of the St. Stephen Cathedral steeple, had discovered the advance guard of the long expected Hungarian army. The news maddened the people again. The treaty was broken; the arsenal stormed. The arms were retaken. The walls were planted with cannon. The city was once more in the hands of a desperate band, fighting for their lives. It was true, the Hungarian army had arrived; but it was a miserable force of militia, immediately dispersed with great slaughter, by Windischgraetz. The troops now stormed again with feeble opposition. The aspect of the city was fearful. Houses shattered by cannon-ball and bomb-shells; entire streets burned down; heaps of smoking ruins; hundreds of dead bodies weltering in blood. Women and children seeking fathers, husbands, sons, or weeping over

their mangled corpses. The savage Croatians, it is said, plundered and slaughtered at their pleasure. Windischgraetz entered the city on November 2. It was no longer the brilliant, rejoicing metropolis of the Congress of Vienna. No more masquerades. The masks were now all off.

This was an awful moment. The town compassed round and closed in; no one to pass without a military order; every one who had borne arms, under sentence of death; the state of siege in its sternest form; no law, but the will of the victorious iron soldier, whose government had been overthrown, whose sovereign had been driven out of his capital, whose troops had been slaughtered, whose wife and son had been murdered; all insurgents and suspected persons were arrested. Prisons crowded. In every breast, fear, revenge, or despair. It would have been noble and wise in Windischgraetz to exercise a certain clemency. The idea did not occur to him. The work of retribution commenced. For several weeks, there were continued executions. It does not appear how many. Becher, Jelinck, Messenhauser, Robert Blum among the rest. Froebel, Blum's friend, in momentary expectation of death, was released. General Bem, Fenner von Fennerberg, an Austrian officer, escaped. Fennerberg and Schuette to New York, where Schuette was detected in swindling, and Fennerberg became tenant of an insane asylum. Numbers of students of the Academical Legion who were not shot, were condemned to become private soldiers, treated in their regiments as culprits, and subjected to the severest service; their punishment was worse than death by powder and ball.

Executions.

Bem, after having ably organized the defense, and

distinguished himself at one of the principal barricades, before the close of the battle contrived to escape out of the city, disgusted by the insubordination and unreasonableness of some of his colleagues.

Bem.

Blum believed himself safe, as a member of the Frankfort Parliament, and after the battle, entered the public room of a hotel where Windischgraetz was sitting. The hotel was silently surrounded by a military force; Blum was arrested, tried by court-martial, and condemned to death. At daybreak, with Messenhauser, commander of the National Guard, and twenty of their colleagues, he was led out to a suburb of Vienna called the Brigittenau, and there shot. Two balls entered his breast, and one his forehead. Those balls struck, and were intended to strike, not only the revolutionary chief, but the forehead of the Frankfort Parliament, and the heart of the revolution.

Execution of Blum, Nov. 9, 1848.

The National Constituent Assembly, which had been sitting in Vienna, was now transferred to Kremsier (Moravia), where in about three months it was finally dissolved.

Transference of Austrian National Assembly to Kremsier, Nov. 15, 1848.

The Emperor Ferdinand I., December 2, 1848, formally abdicated the throne in favor of his nephew, Francis Joseph, now (January, 1888) yet reigning.

Abdication of the Emperor Ferdinand I.

We here state the event of the Hungarian struggle. It lasted till December, 1850, and illustrated not only the indomitable energy of the Hungarians, but the vital strength of the old House of Hapsburg, in this gigantic and at last successful struggle with so many enemies—Italy on the one side; Bohemia on another; Hungary

Event of the Hungarian struggle related in advance, 1848-1850.

on the east; Germany on the north; and a furious revolution in Vienna itself. Bem, who had escaped from Vienna (October, 1848), entered the Hungarian service, and would probably have succeeded in cutting Hungary free from Austria, but for the intervention of Russia. After many battles, and some brilliant victories, one Hungarian army, under Goergei, was compelled to surrender to the Russians, while another, the last hope of Hungary, was finally routed by the Austrian General Haynau at Temesvar.

Haynau was a modern Tilly, who, by merciless cruelty in Lombardy, had made his name execrable. It is believed he had burned to death a large number of fugitives by setting fire to a house from which they were unable to escape; and that he had caused women to be publicly stripped and whipped on account of their political opinion. He disgraced his victory over the Hungarians by a fearful number of bloody and brutal executions. Among the victims was Batthyanyi. Kossuth escaped over the Turkish frontier. Haynau, on account of his ferocity, was called the Austrian hyena. On a tour through England, where he visited the immense brewery of Barclay, the numerous draymen having discovered that he was the Austrian hyena, manifested their execration by gathering close around him, and he was at last in danger of being crushed to death, or torn to pieces, had he not been rescued by a large body of police.

Haynau.

The triumphant Austria now called to the head of her cabinet, Prince Schwarzenberg (nephew of that famous soldier who had beaten Napoleon at Leipsic), a powerful, daring diplomate, to conduct her plans against the greatest, the

Prince Schwarzenberg, Nov. 22, 1848.

most ancient and formidable of all her enemies, Prussia. Schwarzenberg made no secret of his intention. He openly proclaimed the old Hapsburg device: *Avilir la Prusse, puis la démolir.* (First blacken Prussia, then demolish her.)

Remark. On page 917, we described the armistice of Malmoe, as one of the burning questions which tended to the explosion of the Frankfort Parliament, and we there mentioned that a new subject threatened that Parliament the moment the preceding one was disposed of. That other subject was the report of events in Austria, as related in this present cruel chapter, viz.: the third and most formidable insurrection at Vienna (October and November, 1848); the complete victory of the Austrian government; the bloody executions which were constantly taking place, and, most of all, the arrest and immediate execution by powder and ball of that Robert Blum, who had been sent to Vienna by the revolutionary party in the Parliament, and who was, not undeservedly, esteemed and beloved even by his enemies.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE KINGDOM OF PRUSSIA.

EFFECT OF THE FRENCH FEBRUARY REVOLUTION UPON PRUSSIA.

THE reader of Scott's novel "Ivanhoe" will remember in what peculiar positions were found the various parties within the Castle of Front de Bœuf, when the Black Knight's bugle sounded at the gate. The news of the French revolution startled the various European governments from positions almost as awkward as those of Front de Bœuf, Maurice de Bracy, and Bois-Guilbert. Denmark was in the act of forcibly annexing Schleswig-Holstein; Austria was attempting to seize Hungary, and Prussia was just rending from her people their last hope of a constitution. Just at that moment the bugle sounded. The effect was immediate. Monster meetings took place; several in Berlin, thirty thousand strong. Petitions to the king, begging a constitution, were sent from many towns, provinces, etc. The usual demands were tumultuously made. Many riots were suppressed only by dragoons, and not always without bloodshed. Astounding intelligence, not only from France, but from other parts of Europe, carried the exitement to an extraordinary height. Louis Philippe had fled; the Tuileries had been stormed; France had proclaimed the republic; the Heidelberg assembly had met; the revolution had broken out in Vienna; the wildest reports flew among

the masses; the provinces were rising; the troops were firing on the people; various German governments had been overthrown. Europe—the world—was on fire.

Landtag.

The united Landtag of 1847 had been adjourned for four years, till 1851. On the news of the French revolution, the king convoked it for three years earlier (April 27, 1848). All reasonable men hoped the storm would blow over without bloodshed, and so it probably would have done but for the efforts of a class of men we have several times mentioned as professional revolution-makers. The king was honestly and earnestly desirous to meet the nation half-way in an agreement upon a fair, liberal constitution; but the extreme radicals were determined upon a conflict, and circumstances favored their design. The weather was for the season singularly bland and delightful. All the Berlinians crowded into the streets. Among them gradually appeared numerous desperate rowdies with "ruffian" written on every feature and shining through every gesture; they rollicked through the town, insolently swinging clubs and other weapons around their heads, impatient for a fight. These ungainly birds of evil omen were revolutionary agents from different parts of South Germany, France, Poland, etc. On the 15th, came a piece of news: the Austrian revolution had triumphed; Metternich had fled; Vienna was in the hands of the people. The revolutionary party in Berlin, now more openly proceeded to kindle a contest. An imposing military force had appeared in the streets. Cannon were planted in various places, and squadrons of cavalry rode slowly through the town in the hope to prevent an outbreak. These were frequently insulted and pelted with stones. Persons of the mob sometimes seized the bridle of a

mounted dragoon; shook their fists under his nose; defied him; grasped the tail of his horse, and pulled the animal backward. The troops bore with admirable patience these and other insults. Officers walking alone in uniform were nearly massacred. Threatening crowds gathered around the royal palace. In the neighborhood was a guard-house where a company of soldiers were posted. The officer of the guard addressed the crowd kindly: "We have orders to disperse you! We shall fire if you do not obey!" He repeated the warning three times. His words were received with derision and insult. A volley from five muskets followed. The crowd dispersed. Two dead bodies remained on the pavement. Another crowd, clamoring around the palace, was dispersed by a squadron of cavalry. The order was executed in a brutal way. The dragoons rode over the shrieking masses, and cut them down with the saber. Some were killed, and more wounded. These two incidents were not by order of the king. No one was more anxious to calm the passions, and to avoid the catastrophe, than he. When such a crisis has advanced so far, it often escapes from the control of the superior authority into the hands of subordinates. While, on the one side, agents were using every effort to produce an outbreak in order to destroy the throne; and, on the military side, many indignant officers were impatient for an outbreak that they might instantly crush it by military force, the king was earnestly and honestly endeavoring to prevent the outbreak and the bloodshed by unbounded concessions, among others the absolute freedom of the press, and the instantaneous convocation of the united Landtag. His efforts, however, were counteracted by agitators, who had planned an insurrection, and were determined to carry it out.

March 18.

A more lovely morning than March 18 never broke even over Naples. The spring, with all its charms, invited nature and man to peace. The town was convinced that peace had been concluded between the king and his subjects. The people had obtained every thing they asked for. The king had made, and was willing to make, every sacrifice to satisfy them. At two o'clock, an immense crowd, among whom was the writer, assembled around the Schloss and the adjoining broad square. The king appeared on the balcony and received loud acclamations. The danger seemed passed when the party bent on revolution demanded that the troops should be withdrawn from the city. At this moment, two muskets were fired, whether by accident or design does not appear. No one was wounded. The cry immediately broke forth: "*Treason! Treason! They are massacring the people!*" The shrieks flew through the whole town. Barricades rose, houses were taken possession of. Great stones and boiling oil were carried up to house-roofs. The king sent a white flag among the people, with a colossal inscription: "A mistake." The men of the barricades received it with derision. A bloody battle now commenced, and lasted all night. The troops found a steady, well-organized opposition; but by midnight, had fought their way through the principal quarters of the city. They at first gave notice before they fired: "*Heads away!*" But when stones and boiling oil came down upon them, the conflict became more earnest. The people, also, were more and more excited by being fired upon. Many who had not desired, now came to the barricades. The troops were not conquered; but were exhausted by fatigue and want of sleep. At day-break, a royal proclamation appeared everywhere posted up. It

declared that the king was not responsible for the bloodshed. He "had done every thing in his power to avoid it; and thousands of his subjects had acknowledged their satisfaction by grateful acclamations, when a gang of miscreants, principally foreigners, raised the tumult. Two muskets went off accidentally, without wounding any person; and the troops did not use their weapons till they had received many shots."

The party of the barricades was not satisfied with this proclamation. Many had been killed. Cannon had been used against them. They demanded again that the military should be withdrawn from the city. Whether, as the people believed, from a fear that the revolution might take larger proportion, or, as is more probable, from a genuine humane horror at shedding the blood of his subjects, the king ordered the principal part of the troops to be withdrawn. Peace was thus restored. In the evening, the city was illuminated. The writer, not having been informed, received a message from the street that, unless he illuminated, his windows would be smashed in, or something worse. Upon this "hint," he illuminated.*

March 19 was Sunday. The writer strolled through the city. It presented a strange aspect, as if it had been visited by a tornado, or an earthquake. Scarcely a human being was to be seen. Occasionally a straggler, inspired by curiosity, appeared amid the broken and blood-stained barricades, gazing around in silence, lost in wonder. The combatants had disappeared for refreshment and rest. Thousands of the inhabitants had left with the troops. Here and there a shot was yet heard. Three circumstances were striking:

March 19.

* A more detailed account of these days by the writer was printed in the *New York Galaxy*, August, 1873.

I. At the door of one of the churches, stood a silent group of six or eight persons. One of them said: "On the floor within, are one hundred and sixty dead bodies." II. In a large pump was a cannon-ball, nearly buried in the wood; above it, the words: "*To my dear Berlinians.*" The printed inscription had been cut from the royal proclamation, and placed in this awkward juxtaposition. III. In the neighborhood of the royal Schloss, appeared several large wagons, generally used for transporting furniture. They were loaded with dead bodies (upon one were twenty-six), and were making their way into the inner court of the Schloss, where the king resided. The wagons were unloaded, the corpses were borne in beneath his windows. Loud cries called him forth. He came out upon the balcony, accompanied by the queen. At the cry of "Hat off!" he uncovered his head. The writer did not think it proper to be further witness of the scene. The king bore his trial with patience. His life was, no doubt, in danger, when a voice from the persons who had gradually assembled raised the choral: "*Jesus meine Zuversicht*" ("Jesus my refuge"). The sound awed the revolution-makers, who soon withdrew, carrying the bodies with them.

The greatest portion of the Berlin population were filled with grief and alarm. Many thought the Prussian government forever overthrown, and looked every moment for the revolutionary tribunal and guillotine. The writer, thus accidentally an eye-witness, must testify that this act was obviously not the work of Prussians, nor of an excited mob, like the drunken masses, who plundered the Tuileries, and shouted for the red flag. It seemed to be a calculated, cold-blooded proceeding, got up by a few persons, probably foreigners, to push forward the revolution.

There was at first no crowd at all; but the incident, after a time, naturally drew spectators. The brutality of the act was in contrast to the uniform demeanor of the Berlin population whenever, during this excited period, they came in contact with their sovereign.

Later in the afternoon, large crowds began gradually to increase around the Schloss; and, at last, they entered it. The royal family were still there. There was a moment of intense interest throughout the whole city. There were foreign ruffians ready for any thing; watching an opportunity to force the revolution by any crime, such as made Marat shriek: "We have burned our fleet!" The bearing of the Berlin people gave not the least encouragement. The crowds remained all night in the Schloss, pressed through the halls and picture galleries, and thronged the corridors to overflow. But there were no beastly insults; no heads on pikes; no furniture broken or burned. The public passed through the endless apartments more for the gratification of curiosity than for revenge. The king, during the night, once sent a messenger, with the request that there might be less noise, as he and his family required sleep. The request was complied with, and the night passed without violence or intentional disturbance.

Night of March 19 and 20.

In the morning, the king came down into the apartments still occupied by a crowd. As he entered, greeting to the right and left, he was received with all the usual marks of respect and love. He here held a kind of levee, and spoke with cheerfulness and affability to as many as possible. Nobody put a red bonnet on his head, or made him drink brandy out of a dirty cup. To one, he said: "Pray, sir, may I inquire your name?" "*King*, your Majesty," replied the man, with a low bow. "My dear

fellow," said the king, "you have not got a very nice name!" The jest was well received. It soon went the rounds of the crowd, and the hour passed in perfect good humor and kind feeling.

Amnesty of Polish prisoners, March 20.

Since December 2, 1847, one hundred and ninety Polish insurgents had been detained in prison; forty-seven condemned to imprisonment for life; eight to death. Among the latter, Mieroslawski. These men were now pardoned and released. Their departure from the prison was made the occasion of a great demonstration. Mieroslawski, standing in an open carriage and waving a German flag, passed in triumph through the principal streets.

The king proclaims the united Germany, March 21.

On March 21, a proclamation in large letters, without signature, appeared on all the public walls and posts of Berlin:

"TO THE PEOPLE OF GERMANY!"

"From this day, look forward to a new and glorious history. Henceforth you will be one great nation,—strong, free, and mighty; the heart of Europe. Prussia's Frederic William IV., trusting to your heroic support and your new birth as a nation, places himself at the head of the whole fatherland for the salvation of Germany. He will appear this day on horseback in your midst, bearing the illustrious old national colors. Hail to the constitutional prince! Blessings upon the leader of the whole German people; upon the new king of the free, new-born German nation!"

This document probably came from the new ministry (Heinrich von Arnim). Here was a change. It is common in Prussia to call the conflict of March 18 a street-fight. Compared with the battles in Vienna, Prague, Paris, and elsewhere, it may well be called so; but when we consider the fundamental change in the political system produced by it, it must be termed a revolution.

This proclamation recalled the celebrated proclamation of Kalisch (1813). It promised what the people had been struggling for during the last thirty years. At eleven in the morning, the king appeared on horseback, in full uniform; a broad band around his arm, displaying the colors red, black, and gold. He was surrounded by all the princes present in Berlin, and all the new ministers, each of whom displayed the same colors. The royal cavalcade, accompanied by a numerous burgher-guard, among whom were the most distinguished noblemen, followed by an immense multitude, passed through some of the principal streets. The king was received with enthusiastic acclamations. Once there was a cry: "Long live the Emperor of Germany!" The king replied: "No—not that—that can not be." He delivered several speeches in the course of his round. In one, he declared: "Prussia should be merged into the united Germany." His words were received with loud, repeated cheers.

The Prince of Prussia.

The brother of the king, Prince William of Prussia, the head of the military party, who strove to give to the army that organization which saved the country, 1866 and 1870, expressed his disapproval of this and other measures. The king ordered him on a mission to England. His departure gave rise to a report that he had desired to continue the battle against the people. This caused a great excitement against him. For a time, he became the most hated person of the royal party. His palace was taken possession of by the people and students. A colossal banner, hung out from a window, bore the inscription: "National property."

Circumstances were preparing for the king a dreadful humiliation, and this frank public surrender of his medi-

eval ideas acted at least, in some degree, as a counterpoise to the ceremony at which he could not avoid assisting, on the subsequent day—the solemn, national funeral with which were to be honored the dead who had fallen on the 18th in the streets of Berlin. The 22d of March was devoted to the burial of the dead; a gigantic popular demonstration, in imitation of that which had taken place at Paris; a humiliation of the throne, and the old system of government; an assertion of their power by the people. A deep gloom rested on the city. The combatants who had fallen were between two hundred and three hundred in number. From various motives, the whole city united in the ceremony. It was a fine day. Indeed, all the movements of the revolution, from beginning to end, continued to be favored with the most delightful weather. Nearly every one in the streets wore some sign of mourning. In the Schlossplatz, the very spot where enormous crowds (September 21, 1840), on his return from the coronation at Königsberg, had received the king with enthusiastic honors, was now collected an equally numerous multitude, gloomy and silent. From the houses, from the windows all around, even from the royal palace windows and roofs, waved large black flags. All the ladies were clothed in mourning. On a balcony of the Schloss, which overlooked the square, stood the king, with his ministers and adjutants, to view the vast procession passing slowly by. Above their heads, a broad German flag rose and fell on the air; a black flag waved on each side. The immense procession began to appear. In it were numerously represented all classes, from the highest to the lowest. Among others walking in the procession, were Alexander von Humboldt, and many members of the Academy of

Burial of the dead, March 22.

Science. All the bells of the city slowly tolled. Mournful military funeral music breathed out over the motionless and noiseless multitudes as the first coffin appeared, and then the dome-choir of young boys touched every heart by the choral: "*Jesus meine Zuversicht.*" The king took off his helmet, and stood with uncovered head while in the presence of the coffins. The time occupied by the passing of the procession was three hours. The bodies were deposited in the center of a very pretty park, at a remote extremity of the city. At the cemetery, Dr. Sydow spoke some solemn words. A member of the Democratic Club attempted to convert the occasion into a political party demonstration; but wholly failed. There was no military; no police; no revenge; no disposition to insult or triumph. The people themselves maintained perfect order.

The event was as necessary as the change of the seasons, however marked by equinoctial gales. The time had come for a new era. Among the dead were many unprincipled agents who fought only for disorder and fanatical theories; but there were also many who fought from genuine love of country, and for a reasonable share in the government. This might have been obtained without the murderous battle; but the whole city of Berlin and the entire nation, while they respected and loved the king, and deeply sympathized with him in the ordeal through which he was passing, felt that Prussia had advanced a step forward in her necessary development.

Nevertheless, this was a dark day. The revolutionary party were striving to organize a general rising of the laboring class for the social republic. Great alarm prevailed. The withdrawal of the upper classes, left the poorer without occupation and without bread.

Difficulty about the Landtag.

It will be remembered that before March 18, the united Landtag had been convoked for April 2. That day was now approaching. The revolutionary party cried: "No Landtag." They wanted a constitution issuing directly from the people, and founded on the principle of revolution. It is frequently the misfortune of the people that when by revolution they have thrown off their old masters, they speedily fall under the yoke of other and much worse masters, who spring up from among themselves. The Prussian people were determined to pass from absolutism into constitutionalism. But only this, and nothing more.

New constitution.

The king himself settled the difficulty. He published a proclamation, in which he declared it necessary that the Landtag should meet as proposed; but that they should meet only to confirm a new democratic constitution.

Change of ministry, March 29.

The ministry of Arnim von Boitzenburg lasted only nine days. A new ministry was formed on March 29, under Camphausen, a liberal and distinguished statesman. The new ministers declared themselves responsible for every act of the government.

United Landtag, and what it did, April 2-10.

The united Landtag of 1847 had been adjourned till 1851. It was afterward convoked for April 27, 1848. After March 18, the time was again shortened. On April 2, it was opened by the president of the ministry, Camphausen, in the great white hall of the royal Schloss. Its first step was to vote an address to the king, in which it delicately referred to the revolution of March 18, as an "event" revealing a mighty, unmistakable public opinion,

which rendered necessary a reorganization of the government. In this reorganization, the king, by his ministers, took the initiative. The following three propositions were laid before the Assembly: I. A new election law, by which the people should elect electors, and such electors should elect a National Constituent Assembly, to agree with the king upon a constitution. Every Prussian, twenty-four years of age, having resided a year in the country, was qualified to vote; and every Prussian, thirty years of age, eligible as a member of the Assembly. II. A sketch of the proposed constitution, consisting of six paragraphs, acknowledged certain national rights. Among these were: Abolition of the law requiring a newspaper to deposit a sum of money as security; abolition of exceptional tribunals for trial of crimes against the State; abolition of the law of 1844, which impaired the independence of the judiciary; the right of association and of union; liberty of conscience, placing all religious denominations upon an equality; the future Prussian Assembly to vote on the budget, and upon all laws and taxes. III. A loan of forty million thalers was demanded.

The debates upon these questions were very interesting. Men of rank and fortune eloquently advocated the rights of the nation, and the necessity of solid and real reform. Their speeches undoubtedly again astonished and instructed the king.

The first proposition (the democratic electoral law) was accepted. Be it said in passing, this law became subsequently the pretext for great street excesses. The law was afterward, in 1849, withdrawn, and another, less democratic, substituted (the three-class electoral law).

The second proposition, the sketch of the constitution, and the third, the loan of forty millions, were also accepted.

Upon the subject of the press-law, the Assembly were almost unanimous. One stout-hearted member, however, Mr. von Tadden-Triglaff, availing himself of the freedom of parliamentary debate, opposed the press-law; protested against the revolution itself in all its length and breadth, and against every thing and any thing in the shape of a constitution. "A free press," he said, "he was willing to allow, but only on one condition, namely, that a permanent gallows, as high as that of Haman, should be erected at the front door of every editor's house, for the instantaneous execution of each writer who should be guilty of a misdemeanor of the press." There were not wanting persons inside the hall as well as without, who would have seconded the honest speaker, had they dared, and who would have passed the law with the condition, had they been able.

The speech was received with applause by both parties; the Extreme Right rejoicing to hear such an open expression of the thought which secretly inspired their own minds; and the Left amused by the eccentricity of an enemy who so boldly bombarded their fortress with blank cartridges.

The last act of the united Landtag indicated a curious misunderstanding of the principle of constitutionalism, and shows the influence of habit upon the king, the ministers, and the Assembly. The great National Parliament of the German people was about to assemble at Frankfort. The king had empowered the Landtag to elect the members for Prussia, which it immediately did. The measure was only an act of innocent forgetfulness

on the part both of king and Assembly. They had not yet become used to the constitutional forms.

> "New honors come upon us,
> Like our strange garments; cleave not to their mold,
> But with the aid of use."

The election was received by the public with one simultaneous cry of indignation. The common council of Berlin protested. A monster meeting passed a resolution of resistance, and a note from Frankfort declared that the German Parliament would admit no members not elected by the people. The Assembly hastened to annul its election. It decreed that the members for the Frankfort-German Parliament, like those for the German Constituent Assembly, should be elected *by the people*, according to the new democratic law just passed. It then terminated its existence, April 10, after a session of eight days, and disappeared from the scene forever.

Remark on the united Landtag.

Notwithstanding its unpopular origin and organization, the united Landtag did really represent the Prussian nation much better than the National Assembly, which immediately followed. It clearly saw and frankly declared that the day of absolutism had passed, and it desired, without bloodshed and nonsense, to transform the country into a constitutional monarchy. Well would it have been for the king if, on his accession, he had convoked this Assembly and invested it with larger powers. It won the respect and gratitude of the nation, and will hold an honorable place in history. When we consider how largely it was composed of the most aristocratic elements, we are astonished at the frank and firm position it assumed, and at the changes which it adopted. Unlike the French notables (1787–1788), it thoroughly understood its position

and the realities around it, and appeared as ready to undertake genuine reforms as Louis XVI. and Turgot had been; and, unlike the States General (1788–1789), there was no rashness or over-excitement. It saw the time had come for a modification of ancient forms. Prince Solms declared himself ready to sacrifice his class privileges, if necessary.

Bismarck in the second Landtag.

After the first Landtag (1847), Bismarck, during a journey, had a long interview with Frederic William IV. in Venice. The monarch, no doubt, marked the strong, unbending character, and determined, on the first opportunity, to call him into his service. We may imagine with what emotions the thoroughly reactionary and aristocratic young nobleman, the avowed representative of ideas branded as belonging to the dark ages, on his return from Italy, saw the changes which had taken place in Prussia; the flag of the revolution floating over the palaces, caserns, and other public buildings, and even over the old edifice of the Bundestag in Frankfort; the Berlin government overthrown; the town delivered up to a disorderly mob; the bodies of the dead brought beneath the windows of the king, etc. It is said he was pale as he took his seat (April 2) in the white hall as member of the second united Landtag.

A resolution was offered to present an address in reply to the king's message. The Assembly unanimously acquiesced. Bismarck rose and opposed. He made a short and entirely reactionary speech. "The Assembly," he said, "had expressed joy and thanks for the late events. The past is dead and buried, and I deeply regret that no human power can restore it. The king himself has cast his handful of earth upon its coffin. But I can not close my

duty, as a member of this Landtag, with a lie upon my lips. I can not rejoice and thank for what I consider a very great mistake. If you succeed in constructing, out of the wreck, one happy, legally-organized fatherland, then it will be time enough to thank the person, whoever he may be, who shall accomplish this task." The speaker was listened to with more respect. The Assembly recognized honesty and courage. He had confronted not only the Assembly and the entire nation, but his king. He was, however, not elected either to the Berlin Constituent Assembly nor to the Frankfort Parliament; but was frequently called to Sans Souci by the king.

At this time occurred the first Schleswig-Holstein war, April 3—August 20, 1848.

At this time, as related in a previous section, the Duchies Schleswig-Holstein appealed to Frederic William for protection. The old Bundestag, one of its last acts, at this time appointed Prussia, in the name of the Germanic Confederation, to conduct the war.

Polish risings suppressed, April, May, 1848.

That the partition of Poland was a European crime, is indicated by the fact that no government has ever dared to plead it as a precedent. Had the three powers who perpetrated it been inspired, as they pretended, only by a desire to promote the public welfare, it would have still been a dangerous violation of international law. But the three sovereigns sought and obtained for themselves invaluable material advantages, only the noble Maria Theresa acted reluctantly, and from compulsion. The higher power, which says to human rulers and peoples, as to the waters of the sea, "*Thus far and no farther*," has always visited such transgressions with judgments; sometimes unto the third and fourth generations. It is the duty of the historian humbly to proclaim and reiterate, in spite of

philosophical sophisms, that there is an eternal difference between right and wrong. No one can say what agitations and revolutions are destined yet to flow from the partition of Poland. Since this partition, the Polish element has been not only a volcano, liable at any moment to break forth; but a volcano watching, with human intelligence and human revenge, every opportunity to inflict fiery retribution upon Europe. In Russian Poland, the government had at last met this spirit with a corresponding determination to annihilate the Polish nationality. A new Russian aristocracy had been created in Poland. The confiscated Polish estates, with the right of primogeniture, had been bestowed upon Russians. The Polish schools were Russianized. The Polish element, in return, sought its preservation by a union with the revolution. The revolution of 1848 naturally kindled new hopes; Russian and Prussian Poland rose again.

We have just seen Mieroslawski released from a Prussian dungeon, where he had been waiting execution. His first step, on obtaining liberty, was to head a new revolution in Prussian Poland. This was the third revolution in which he had been engaged. Russia soon suppressed the rising in her own dominions. Prussia sent General von Pfuel, with a military force, into Posen, where he succeeded in terminating the insurrection, and in taking Mieroslawski prisoner again.

The elections.

The elections for the new Prussian Constituent Assembly, as well as for the Frankfort Parliament, were to take place (May 1). The Prussian National Assembly was to meet, May 22. The Prussian people, under the new election law, if left to themselves, would have quietly chosen a body of competent representatives; but the revolutionary party thought

nothing could be done without the ax and the musket. They were as tired of despotism as Mr. von Tadden-Triglaff was of revolution, and would have had another gallows of their own at the door of every aristocrat who attempted to preserve order. The new electoral law was represented as the first step of a reaction. Public meetings were called to denounce it. Inflammatory appeals collected crowds, sometimes twenty thousand and thirty thousand in number. Here demagogues informed the people that their newly achieved freedom was being undermined. The orators shouted themselves hoarse, crying: "*Down with the election law! No electors of electors! The people with their own hands must place their own representatives in their seats.*" One could imagine Billaud-Varennes, Chaumette, and Hébert, screaming: "Down with the veto! Down with the constitution of '91!" The hotels of the ministers and the Schloss were besieged by immense crowds, clamorously demanding the repeal of the obnoxious law. To an infuriated street mob, who threatened to destroy his hotel, because he would not instantly annul the law, President Camphausen ventured to say that, "although a despotic government might decree such a measure, the minister of a constitutional monarchy had in himself no power to annul a law; and that if he had, he could not reasonably receive the cries of a street crowd as the demands of the Prussian nation."

In reply to this, the leaders of the revolution organized a monster procession, sixty thousand strong, to take place on Green Thursday (holy week, called Green Thursday because, on that day, the Twenty-third Psalm is sung with the verse: "He maketh me to lie down in green pastures"). *Green Thursday.*

In allusion to the procession which was to take place on this day, one of the various printed placards addressed to the people, ran as follows:

"TO THE PEOPLE OF BERLIN!

"On Green Thursday, we are going to celebrate the Lord's Supper with the ministry Camphausen, that it may be crucified. Once upon a time, the Jews gave Barabbas free, in order to hang a great demagogue and revolutionist who was to be for thousands of years worshiped as God. To-morrow, we will not only free Barabbas Camphausen, but we will forever save our freedom, which is incarnated in the popular elections. Therefore, put no trust in the scribes and pharisees of the constitutional club, in the soldiers of the 'Bürgerwehr,' nor in that Pontius Pilatus Minutoli (president of the police), all of whom tell you how good is Barabbas, and how dangerous that political Christ, the democratic electoral law. But let nothing prevent your going *en masse* to Golgotha (the Königliche Schloss), where that barbarous Frederic William Titus, four weeks ago, caused you to be shot down by his troops. There the Minister Camphausen will bear his own cross, upon which he will be nailed."

We ask pardon for reproducing a composition which so strongly exhales the fragrance of the rum-cellar; but it is necessary to show the character of the demagogism which, at this time, aspired to rule Prussia. However obviously the document had issued from the lowest possible source, yet it received a certain importance from the moment in which it was published. Thousands who could have assisted in preserving order, had absented themselves. The streets were filled with crowds in great excitement, without occupation, and without bread. Sixty thousand laborers, under the leading of fanatics or paid agitators, reckless and eager for any crime which would precipitate the revolution, were preparing to besiege the Schloss. We have seen that sometimes, on these occasions, a single determined person can kindle a

revolution. The proclamation was such an open incitement to plunder and massacre, that the burgher-guard, and a part of the student corps, by extraordinary exertions, succeeded in preventing the demonstration. The attempt at a socialistic demonstration was defeated by the good sense and calmness of the German character.

Election of the Prussian National Assembly.

The election-day found the public in an agitated state. Every one felt anxiety and terror. Some dreaded a *coup d'état;* others a sudden and more sanguinary outbreak. Alarming reports flew about. There was no police; no military was seen; the burgher-guard on the election-day would be necessarily engaged at the polls. It was reported that when Berlin should be absolutely without protection, the laborers, assisted by criminals, to be released from the prisons, would rise and take possession, etc., etc.

These alarms proved to be without foundation. The election-day passed as peacefully as if it had taken place in the Island of Utopia. The demagogues of the Green Thursday were disappointed. The royal party was also very much astonished. Not only there was not the least disturbance, but the members elected did not at all belong to the class of Anacharsis Clootz. It had been supposed that universal suffrage would fill the legislative hall with ruffians from the lowest depths. This was not the case. There were some pretty broad-minded deputies, who afterward distinguished themselves by attempts to set the country on fire, and who, at last, caused the Assembly to disappear. But there were also many highly distinguished, right-minded men, honest and faithful champions of true progress and rational liberty. Among these elected for the Prussian National Assembly, were: the crown solicitor-general, von Kirchmann; Mr. Za-

charia, an eminent manufacturer; Waldeck, an educated, conscientious liberal; Grabow, mayor of the city; Dr. John Jacobi; Mr. von Unruh. With a few exceptions, the best men were sent to the Frankfort Parliament. Among the members elected for the latter, were: Dr. Veit, the eminent Professor von Raumer, and Minister Camphausen.

The elections were often accidental. The new machinery had not been brought into working order; the electors did not always know the color of their candidates. The same electors frequently voted for members of quite opposite platforms; as if, for instance, an American should vote for Charles Sumner and Jefferson Davis.

Prince of Prussia.

The National Assembly had not been long in session when a report circulated that the Prince of Prussia was about to return to Berlin. A monster meeting was immediately called in the Thiergarten, and a resolution passed to repair to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and inquire if the report was true. In the afternoon, a deep, strange noise, the solemn measured tread of a large body of men, thirty thousand in number, announced to the frightened town the dangerous visit. They entered at the Brandenburg gate, in tolerable military order. The sea of human beings, continually augmented by spectators, flowed into the city, filled the broad Pariser Platz, the Wilhelmstrasse down to the Foreign Office, and the street called Unter den Linden, as far as the eye could reach. The Foreign Office was besieged. There was danger of a great catastrophe. The minister caused to be invited into his hotel one of the leaders, who appeared to exercise the greatest sway over these men. This person, named Held, formerly an officer, then an actor, then an editor, and finally a professional agi-

tator, had, a short time before, refused to take an oath on the ground: There is no God. While the vast crowd were roaring and shrieking in front of the hotel, this man appeared on the balcony, lifted his hand, and all was still. Held then informed his constituents that, as far as the Minister Camphausen knew, the report of the prince's return was unfounded. In the course of the afternoon, the crowds disappeared for a season.

Other incidents.

The people of Berlin, from March to October, were thus really in the hands of the mob. One day a band of men, with perfect impunity, entered a shop to lynch a glover. The glover, believed to have in some way betrayed the Democratic party, was himself wisely absent. The ministers of destruction seized the poor fellow's stock of gloves, brought them out into the street, and cut them into a thousand pieces. The pavement was, moreover, whitened with a snow-storm of paper, once account-books, letters, and other documents. The band then proceeded to visit all the shops decorated with the gilt armorial bearings of the Prince of Prussia. These acts were not committed by the Berlin people, but obviously by foreign agents.

Prince of Prussia's palace.

For a moment after the conflict of March 18, there appeared to be a danger that the palace of the Prince of Prussia would be demolished. It was entered by the mob, but immediately occupied by a corps of students, who, in their way, took it under their protection. A colossal banner, inscribed with the words: "*National Eigenthum*" ("national property"), had already appeared on the outside. The rooms were not materially injured. The students lounged out of the windows in various attitudes of easy familiarity and victorious revolution, and smoked

their long pipes into the noses of the mob, who were crying: "*Down with the prince!*" and "*Down with the palace!*"*

Opening of the Prussian National Assembly, May 21, 1848.

The newly-elected Prussian National Assembly was opened by the king, May 21; not, as in the case of the united Landtag, in the white hall of the royal Schloss. The building, called the Singing Academy, was appointed for its sittings; and the spacious hall, where the great master-pieces of Haydn, Mendelssohn, Beethoven, Handel, Mozart, had calmed the passions and charmed attention from political questions, was now to ring with different sounds. A large crowd during the sittings continually surrounded the building.

One of the first resolutions proceeded from Behrend of the Extreme Left. "The Assembly recognizes the

* We have more than once in these pages been called upon to record the delicate and generous missions performed by the students. While the universities, both students and professors, are found steadily resolute in opposing reaction, and sometimes in promoting revolution; when the revolution comes, they act frequently, if not always, as mediators between frightened governments and infuriated populaces. The following is so characteristic that we give it even at the risk of its being second-hand: In 1815, the Emperor Alexander I., on a visit to the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, expressed a desire that, in a drive which the two sovereigns contemplated through the town of Jena, he might see the students assembled in their costume. The duke laughed, and said he would see what could be done. As, the next day, the royal carriage entered Jena and approached the university, the whole body of students, a thousand in number, appeared drawn up on each side of the road in full costume, with caps, pipes, boots, pouches, etc., every thing in order. The Emperor expressed his gratification, and complimented the duke upon the ready obedience of his young subjects. The duke replied: "Will your Majesty allow me to read a copy of the order which called forth this obedience?" The order ran as follows: "His Highness the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, accompanied by his Imperial Majesty the Emperor Alexander, having the intention to drive through Jena to-morrow afternoon at three o'clock, it is hereby positively forbidden that any university student appear in the streets at that time. If it should be unavoidable for a student to appear, such student is strictly forbidden to wear any mark of his studentship." The Emperor looked astonished. The duke smiled, and said: "*I know my Pappenheimers.*"

revolution, and declares that the combatants who fought at the barricades, on March 18 and 19, merit the thanks of the country." Thus, instead of profiting by the time to frame, in agreement with the king, a constitution securing the rights which had been obtained, the leaders threw a fire-brand into the Assembly, which rendered such a common understanding more difficult. The motion was rejected. On issuing from the building into the street, after the sitting, the members who had voted against it, were received by the mob with threats and insults. Heinrich von Arnim, the minister, and some of his colleagues were surrounded by a band of rowdies, and would have been thrown into the adjoining canal, had they not been rescued by a company of students.

Storming of the arsenal by the mob, night of June 15.

In the evening of the same day, in consequence of the rejection of the Behrend resolution, the arsenal was attacked by a large body of laborers. The burgher-guard were not prepared, and made a feeble defense. There was a great riot. The building was stormed and partially plundered.

Incident to the writer.

On the same evening, the writer happened to be at the Casino Unter den Linden, a few steps distant from the arsenal, to read the newspapers. A number of gentlemen came in, and waited the result of the riot. There were among them, Prussian officers and statesmen, making no secret of their indignation at the patience of the Prussian government in permitting itself to be so insulted. As the writer prepared to return home, he was informed that twenty men had planted themselves in the hall of egress, with the determination to seize, and hang upon the next lantern, a person who was supposed to be in the building.

The writer, unable conveniently to wait longer, and confiding in his ability to legitimate himself in case of need, descended into the hall. He found the men drawn up in two lines, between which he passed. Stern, pale faces glared silently upon him, and piercing eyes scrutinized his features as he appeared and slowly advanced toward the street-door. Happily, the looked-for resemblance was not found.

Plan of a constitution by the king.

The sketch of a constitution proposed by the king was now laid before the Assembly. It provided two Chambers—a House of Lords, and a House of Commons. The last to be elected by the democratic electoral law; the first to consist of all the princes of the royal house in their own right, and, in addition, sixty members from the wealthiest of the kingdom to be selected by the king, their office hereditary. This constitution was immediately rejected.

New ministry.

On the rejection of the constitution, the ministry Camphausen resigned. A new ministry was complete, June 25; Rudolph von Auerswald,* President and Minister of Foreign Affairs; von Schreckenstein, war; three others, Milde, Gierke, and Robertus, were taken from the Left of the Assembly.

Resolution of Stein, Aug. 9, 1848.

A new incident now occurred. In Schweidnitz (Silesia), there had been organized, as in most other Prussian towns, a burgher-guard, with officers elected by itself. There was also in the town a military garrison. On July 31, the commander of the burgher-guard was about to call his men together for a drill by the sound of a trumpet, when the commandant of the garrison issued an order, forbidding the use of the trumpet to any but military officers. The

* There were three von Auerswalds at the same time on the scene.

captain of the burgher-guard submitted with a good grace; but the circumstance occasioned a great excitement. In the evening, a monster meeting was called, and the crowd at last repaired to the house of the general, with kettles, horns, and other musical instruments, for the purpose of insulting him with a charivari. The caterwauling had scarcely commenced, when the burgher-guard itself appeared in order to suppress the tumult. On its arrival, it found a company of infantry had already cleared the square. A second military company at the same moment appeared and, without the least notice, fired a full volley upon the astonished burgher-guard. Fourteen dead bodies lay on the pavement. The number of wounded is not stated. No explanation of this brutality appears to have been made. If the mob and the demagogues often distinguished themselves by stupid atrocities, the military here appeared a successful rival. The news flew through the kingdom. The subject was taken up in the Assembly by Stein. He said the revolution had been accomplished by the people, and acknowledged by the king; but it was hated in military circles. All the ministers had bent to it, except the Minister of War. It was now time for him to show his true colors. Mr. Stein then offered a resolution, that "the Minister of War be instructed to issue an order, forbidding the officers of the army to take part in any reactionary movement, commanding them to avoid every conflict with the people and with the civil authorities, and, on the contrary, to show that they accepted the new form of government, not only with sincerity, but with pleasure!"

The Minister of War, General von Schreckenstein, was present in the Assembly, and replied: "With regard to

the very painful circumstance under consideration, it was natural and proper for the Assembly to give an expression of its displeasure. Such an order to the Prussian army, however, as that now proposed, could not be enforced. One objection was, it implied a right and a power to legislate over the mind and the conscience, which would be exactly contrary to the rights of all classes under a free government."

Notwithstanding the modest speech of Schreckenstein, the resolution was carried by an immense majority, and a copy duly served upon the ministry.

End of the Stein resolution.

Four weeks elapsed before any thing more was heard of the matter. At length (September 4), a short, polite communication was read to the Assembly: "The War Department had the honor to acknowledge receipt of a copy of the resolution of Mr. Stein; but did not deem it expedient to issue an order on the subject."

The most democratic provinces, Silesia and Saxony, were clamorously indignant at this decision. In the other provinces, it was generally approved, not because in favor of the Schweidnitz massacre (for it was an unjustifiable one), but because the Assembly elected exclusively to frame a constitution, instead of performing its duty, had attempted to legislate, with despotic power, on subjects over which it had no jurisdiction.

Revolutionary motions.

As the drama drew nearer its close, the Assembly became more open in its intention to overthrow the monarchy. On October 12, discussions began upon a resolution to strike from the king's title the words, "By the grace of God," and to abolish all titles of nobility and distinctions of rank. The Assembly building, during the sitting, was

generally surrounded by threatening crowds. Inflammatory addresses, caricatures, and engravings, one of which represented a broad gallows, and all the ministers hanging from it by the neck, were gratuitously distributed from the front door. Another resolution demanded that the king and the war ministry, notwithstanding their express refusal to do so, should be compelled to issue the order to the army, according to the resolution of Stein. One day, a high officer of the War Department was summoned to the bar of the Assembly to give certain explanations. The conservative members did not conceal their merriment at seeing a leader of the Extreme Left loftily interpellating the member of a War Department, at the head, and almost within hail, of twenty-five thousand disciplined troops, flushed with victory, and obviously waiting to disperse the Assembly. Among the questions asked were: Why those troops had been collected? Why they were brought so near the city? If the guns were loaded? etc., etc.

Had the Assembly really represented the nation, and been supported by two hundred thousand bayonets, and an overflowing treasury, we should better understand its course; but it was absolutely destitute of military force; even its own burgher-guard against it; without a treasury; and in these resolutions representing only a very small, and the least intelligent, part of the nation. From March to October, the town was in the hands of an excited and tumultuous mobocracy. The burgher-guard was called out at all times of the day and night, to suppress murderous riots. A meeting of the burghers of Charlottenburg, one of the suburbs of Berlin, was attacked and dispersed by the mob with violence. The hotels of the ministers were continually besieged by clamorous masses.

The ministers themselves were sometimes attacked and grossly insulted. On all these occasions, the lugubrious horn, by which the burgher-guard was called out, sounded through the streets, and the poor burghers had to come out, rain or shine, day and night, and not infrequently to a bloody battle. In one instance, the mob attacked a large society which had assembled at the house of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in Wilhelm street. The company fled through back doors and windows, and by garden-ways and walls. The mob afterward took their way through the Linden, destroying whatever they could. One feature alarmed every family. Ruffians, often intoxicated, continually rang at the doors and asked assistance. The males of the family were often absent on burgher-guard duty, perhaps fighting with the mob. Money was often demanded, and a ten-groschen piece, instead of being thankfully received, was held extended in the still open hand, with the sullen or stern remark: "*Not enough.*"

Of course, during this period business was suspended, and want, beggary, and drunkenness, as well as lawless disorder, increased. A socialistic newspaper in Berlin like Marat's *Ami du Peuple* inflamed the day-laborers against the middle and upper classes, by such charges as the following: "The bourgeoisie were traitors. They had betrayed the people by abandoning the revolution before it had accomplished its purpose. There was an impassable chasm between the laboring class and their fellow-subjects. The war is not between the people and the throne, but between labor and capital," etc.

Walking one afternoon, while the everlasting horn was filling the town with alarm, the writer was stopped by an officer of the burgher-guard, and informed that there

had been a combat between the burghers and the laborers; fifteen dead bodies had just been carried into the royal Schloss. The next day, came a petition of the day-laborers to the National Assembly, demanding that the burgher-guard should be punished, as murderers, for this slaughter. The Assembly, instead of continuing their work of framing the constitution, plunged into fiery debates upon the petition. The Left demanded that the petition should be granted. The Right attempted to point out the absurdity of punishing a burgher-guard for suppressing a riot; but the Left only urged their demand with greater fury. The members were thus divided into two excited parties, and came very near fighting in the Assembly as furiously as their constituents had fought outside.

Unexpected incident.

The writer was one day alone in the diplomatic box, following an excited debate. A speaker in the tribune was urging the overthrow of the monarchy, when suddenly the entire Assembly was struck mute with stupefaction. The Prince of Prussia, the late Emperor William I., supposed to be in England, in terror for his life, appeared at the door, accompanied by two officers, all three in full uniform, and marched directly up to the tribune. The Assembly could not have been more astounded had old Barbarossa himself, with his seven-hundred-years-long beard, marched into the hall out of his mountain cave. The words of the speaker in the tribune died away on his lips. The proceedings were for a moment suspended. The orator remained like a statue in the tribune. There was no vacant seat, and as no one offered any, the prince stood waiting while the members around were sitting. The awkward position was relieved by Mr. Sydow, who had

the courage to rise and surrender his seat. The orator in the tribune at length concluded his remarks and descended. The prince thought, no doubt, he might now ascend the empty tribune. But he was mistaken. The members of the Left had recovered from their amazement, and tumultuously, and in the usual form, with extended arm, demanded of the president: "*Ich bitte um das wort!*" ("I beg permission to speak"). The prince several times did the same; and for some time, amid the vehement demands of twenty persons, it was doubtful whether he would be allowed to speak at all. After a slight delay, the president, Mr. von Grabow, accorded the tribune to the prince. He ascended and made a short address, which was listened to, with breathless attention, by every individual present. He spoke with the assurance of an heir to a throne which was not in the slightest danger of being abolished; but he spoke with the modesty and good sense of a prince who frankly accepted the vast transformation which the government had undergone, and who intended honestly to endeavor to carry out the will of the whole nation. He rejoiced, he said, to behold in a representative assembly so many whose wisdom and sincerity could not be doubted, and who were endeavoring to promote the interest and prosperity of the country. He expressed thanks for the attention with which he had been heard, and repeated his assurance that he would always endeavor to co-operate with the constitutional representatives of Prussia for the development of real national progress.

It was curious to see the general respect accorded to a man, the mere rumor of whose return had a short time before brought together a concourse of thirty thousand men, ready to tear any one in pieces who should

say a word in his praise. This was one of many occasions on which the honesty and superiority of the prince's character made itself felt even by his enemies. The prince had been elected member of the Assembly by the circle of Wirsitz (Posen), and had thus the same right to speak as the other members.

Berlin was now thoroughly tired of street tumults, and the horn of the burgher-guard. The nation heartily responded to the words of Mr. von Gagern in the Frankfort Parliament: "The Parliament could not establish a republic. We should be equally opposed by the princes and the people. We are not here to make the revolution, but to close it, and to free the country from the dregs of it. Unprincipled demagogues and bloody insurrections must no longer be permitted to disgrace our civilization."

Cabinet Pfuel, Eichmann, Bonin.

The Prussian troops which had been engaged in the Schleswig-Holstein war, were now placed under General Wrangel, commander-in-chief of the mark of Brandenburg. Wrangel was an old Haudegen, something like Blücher. He had made the campaign of 1807 and 1813, and distinguished himself at many battles; among others, Grossgörschen, Bautzen, Leipsic. He was an impersonation of the military element, executing his work with rapidity and energy. He proceeded without delay to encircle the city with the twenty-five thousand troops. At the same time, a cabinet order of the king (September 21) named a new ministry: General Pfuel, president; Count Dönhoff, foreign affairs. Pfuel was also an old, long-tried, energetic soldier, had been on the staff of Blücher, and military governor of Berlin. The Extreme Left in the Assembly were frightened and expected a *coup d'état*. There was nothing of the sort.

Von Unruh and von Grabow.

Mr. von Grabow, President of the National Assembly, resigned his office (October, 1848), and Mr. von Unruh was elected president in his place. At this moment, the revolution over all Europe was nearly exhausted. Cavaignac had put down the June insurrection. The Prussian flag waved above the flag of Germany. The Frankfort Parliament was rapidly dying out, and the twenty-five thousand soldiers of Wrangel were lying so near around Berlin, that the orators proposing to deprive the king of his title, could almost see their flashing helmets from the city gates. It may be here said that Mr. von Unruh was inspired by a genuine sense of duty to the nation. He thought, although incorrectly, that the constitutional principle would be destroyed. In the approaching catastrophe, he performed his functions with courage, fidelity, and dignity.

Seat of the National Assembly transferred to the theater.

The seat of the National Assembly was now transferred by the government to the Schauspielhaus (the theater). The building stands quite alone, in one of the most spacious squares. An insurgent populace could not desire a better point for a Green Thursday demonstration. But the broad area offered facilities, also, for the evolutions of infantry and cavalry.

News of the Vienna revolution.

A provocation for a new monster meeting soon presented itself. The insurgents in Vienna, as we have already more particularly stated, were being gradually crushed by the troops of Windischgraetz and Jellachich. The news of the first insurrection in Vienna had occasioned the conflict of March 18 in Berlin, and the Extreme Left feared that the fall of Vienna would effect a reaction in Prussia.

They heard that Robert Blum and Julius Froebel were shut up in Vienna, unable to escape. A resolution was offered in the Prussian Assembly, that the Prussian government should immediately intervene with its entire military power in favor of the Vienna revolution. The debate was conducted in the most excited manner. The building was surrounded and formally besieged by a clamorous multitude. The mob sent a communication to the President of the Assembly, declaring that no member should leave the house till the resolution should be accepted. Under this terrorism, the crowd held the Assembly in prison till midnight. The members were released with difficulty by a large force of the burgher-guard. The ministry (Pfuel) handed in their resignation.

Ministry Brandenburg-Manteuffel, Nov. 2, 1848.

On November 2, Count Brandenburg stated to the Assembly that the king had requested him to form a new ministry. Count Brandenburg was the son of King Frederic William II. of Prussia (father of King Frederic William III.), by a morganatic marriage with the Countess von Doenhoff, therefore uncle of Frederic William IV. He had made the campaign of 1813. His well-known, unwavering character, so frightened the Assembly that it sent a deputation to the king, petitioning for another ministry. Before the receipt of an answer, news arrived of the crash in Vienna. Windischgraetz had taken the town, and executions were going on daily. Froebel had been condemned to death; Robert Blum and Messenhauser, shot, etc., etc.

On the same day, Count Brandenburg, with his colleagues, appeared in the hall of the Prussian National Assembly, and announced his desire to read a message

from his Majesty the King. The message was listened to with uncommon attention. It was as follows:

Adjournment of the Assembly, and transference to Brandenburg, Nov. 2, 1848.

"As the debates are no longer free in Berlin, the Assembly is hereby adjourned to November 27. It will then meet, and thereafter hold its meetings, not in Berlin, but in Brandenburg" (fifty miles from Berlin).

After reading the message, Count Brandenburg, his colleagues, and all the members of the Right, retired. The indignation of the rest of the Assembly was too largely mingled with astonishment to permit them to remonstrate. At length, the following resolution was proposed and passed: I. The Prussian National Assembly was permanent, and would continue its sittings. II. The king had no right to adjourn, transfer, or dissolve it. III. The ministers were not qualified for the administration of affairs. IV. They had been guilty of a gross violation of duty. V. The resolution should be published.

The Assembly then adjourned, and met again in the evening. The members of the Right were present; but protested against all resolutions as illegal, passed since the adjournment. On November 10, the Assembly met again. Their debates were interrupted by General Wrangel, who had entered Berlin by the Brandenburg gate, at the head of twenty-five thousand troops. Slowly advancing, amid enormous crowds, perfectly passive, and manifesting no sign of discontent, he led his force into the Schiller Platz. The building in which the Assembly sat was completely surrounded, and the large square and adjoining streets filled with soldiers. An officer from General Wrangel entered the hall, and politely announced that he had received orders to disperse the Assembly. The members submitted, and left the hall.

On the next day, they met again, two hundred and forty-seven strong, in a shooting-gallery. An order was now issued dissolving the burgher-guard. On the 12th, Berlin was declared in a state of siege, and the town alarmed by reports that military executions were to take place. There were not wanting men who considered such a proceeding indispensable. But the Prussian government was not of that opinion. To its honor be it recorded, there was not a drop of blood shed. Old General Wrangel, in a short military speech on entering the city, had declared that the swords of his soldiers had been so sharpened that they could "cut a hair." But not even a hair did they cut. During the state of siege, the Assembly met again under the presidency of Mr. von Unruh. A body of troops entered the hall, and commanded the persons present to leave it. President von Unruh declared he could not consistently obey the order. There was, he said, no power higher than the Assembly. The soldiers did not fire on him, or cut him down with their sabers; but good-naturedly lifted his chair with him in it, and gently deposited both in the street. On the 15th, the disarmament of the burgher-guard commenced; and silent crowds watched the heavy military wagons, loaded with glittering muskets, as they passed through the streets. In the evening, the Assembly met again at a restaurant, Unter den Linden, two hundred and twenty-seven members. They were engaged in discussing a resolution to refuse the taxes, when a company of soldiers again marched into the hall. Their commander politely expressed his regret at the necessity of asking them to vacate it; but, he said, he would wait till they had passed the resolution. This they did, and then retired. The Assembly had done exactly what the royal

party wished. The inhabitants of Berlin gladly saw the re-establishment of order. The city was as quiet as if the military display had been only an ordinary review. The troops marched backward and forward to loud bursts of music.

The provinces.

But what would the provinces do? That was the question. Silesia and Prussian Saxony manifested some inclination to support the National Assembly; but the body of the nation acquiesced in the government measures. The few attempts at insurrection were easily put down. Some refractory districts were placed in a state of siege. The provinces, generally, testified their satisfaction. Addresses of confidence flowed in from every part of the country.

The Prussian National Assembly at Brandenburg, Nov. 27, 1848.

On November 27, Count Brandenburg went to Brandenburg to open the Assembly; but he could not find any. It had split into two parts; the one, under von Unruh, determined to meet in Berlin; the other, considering it wiser to hold their sitting in Brandenburg. The fraction von Unruh, which had remained in Berlin, published a proclamation, declaring the Brandenburg Assembly illegal; and the Brandenburg fraction published a proclamation, declaring the von Unruh Assembly illegal. The Brandenburg fraction had previously met in Brandenburg, and there were just members enough to form a quorum. A resolution was offered to adjourn, and rejected by a small majority. The members who had voted for the resolution now withdrew in a body. There was no longer a quorum. Thus the Prussian National Assembly disappeared.

On December 5, appeared a royal decree, dissolving the National Assembly. The reason given was, that on

November 15, after the legal adjournment to Brandenburg, the Assembly had met again in Berlin, and passed a resolution to refuse the taxes. The decree was accompanied by an *octroyirte* constitution (that is, a constitution decreed by the king). It was declared to be based upon the principles demanded by the late Prussian National Assembly, and by the Frankfort Parliament, and which should be submitted to the new Chambers about to be elected.

Octroyirte constitution, December 5, 1848.

Then appeared a provisional *octroyirte* electoral law, for the election of two Chambers, to meet in Berlin, February 26, 1849. The law to be subsequently submitted to the Chambers. Both Chambers to be elected by universal suffrage (the people electing electors). No person eligible unless able to support himself.

New electoral law and new Chambers.

With regard to the First Chamber, the qualifications of the voter were: he must be thirty years of age, owner of a piece of land worth at least five thousand thalers, or possess a yearly income of at least five hundred thalers, or show a receipt for the payment of eight thalers taxes. No person eligible under forty years of age.

At the same time, the king proposed several important laws in the direction of reform for the consideration of the future Chambers. Among them were some regulating the relations between the rich landed proprietors (the nobles) and the peasants, decreeing the abolition of the right of private jurisdiction, and the right of certain classes or persons who, in consideration of their rank or office, were exempted from the jurisdiction of the ordinary tribunals, and who, in case of committing a crime, could demand to be tried by a special tribunal. Frederic William III. had already, but

New laws.

unsuccessfully, attempted to rid the country of these relics of feudalism.

Meeting of the new Chambers, Feb. 26, 1849.

The new Chambers met February 26, 1849. The throne speech was moderate and prudent. The Chambers voted an address, thereby acknowledging and authenticating the *octroyirte* constitution.

Prussia had thus closed the revolution of 1848, as far as she was concerned. Bismarck was elected member of the Second Chamber.

CHAPTER XXVI.

END OF THE FRANKFORT PARLIAMENT, AND SUPPRESSION OF THE REVOLUTIONS.

THE Frankfort insurrection and massacres directed against a representative assembly which the people themselves had elected, were regarded by the German nation with disgust. The radical party thus continually defeated their own aims. The Imperial executive, with the approbation of the country, stationed troops wherever there was danger of an outbreak. The majority of the Assembly had long arrived at the conclusion that the only way forward, was a united Germany under an Emperor. But who was to be the Emperor? Austria was out of the question; so were the smaller States. The only candidate who could secure a majority was Frederic William IV. This conclusion was not arrived at without long debates, partly occasioned by the doubt whether the king would accept the Imperial crown from the hands of the people without the consent of the princes. The conviction gradually strengthened that the German Parliament was to be a disappointment; that it was spending golden hours in framing a constitution which would never be received, and in giving away a crown (which it did not possess) to a prince who would not accept it. The wits jested. Three magnificent edifices, they said, would never be completed: the Tower of

Effect of the Frankfort outbreak on the Parliament and country, September, 1848.

Babel, the Cathedral of Cologne, and the Constitution of Germany. The wits, however, were wrong. The Cathedral of Cologne and the German Constitution are completed. Only the Tower of Babel, although so many learned laborers are engaged upon it, is still unfinished.

Effect in the Parliament of the Vienna and Berlin news, Nov., 1848.

The Parliament had, at last, again taken up the constitution, when two other torpedoes fell into their midst: the news that Windischgraetz had crushed the revolution in Vienna, and that the King of Prussia had dissolved the National Assembly in Berlin. The constitution was once more abandoned for explosive resolutions. One demanded that "the central German government should support the Austrian insurrection with military force"; another, that the Parliament should send two deputations: one to the Emperor, at Olmütz; the other to Windischgraetz, at Vienna. (These deputations repaired to Vienna and Olmütz, but received not the least attention.) A third resolution requested the King of Prussia to dismiss his ministry, Brandenburg-Manteuffel; to appoint another more in harmony with the wishes of the people, and to recall the Prussian National Assembly from Brandenburg to Berlin. The king, as already stated, replied to this request by dissolving the Prussian National Assembly, and himself decreeing a constitution. But the fair and liberal spirit of this *octroyirte* constitution deprived the revolutionary party of ground to stand on for the purpose of fomenting new insurrections.

Fundamental law completed, Dec. 27, 1848.

The fundamental law was at length completed, and prematurely proclaimed as a law.

The great question, Austria's position with regard to the new Germany, came up in the early part of Novem-

ber, 1848. Among many propositions, we mention three: I. Austria should abandon her German provinces. This was war. II. Austria should remain as a separate whole, with all her provinces. In that case the Austrian-German provinces (fourteen in number) must dissolve their connection with Germany. III. The Austrian plan. All the German States, and all the Austrian provinces (German and non-German), should be united into one gigantic empire (seventy million inhabitants of all races and nations), with Austria at the head, occupying the center of Europe from the Memel on the Baltic, and Emden on the North Sea, to Basel in Switzerland, and to Venice and the Danubian principalities. Germany, or rather Austria, would then form a colossal, central European Empire (*ein grosses, mitteleuropäisches Reich in fester Union verbunden*) almost equal in extent to the dominions of Charlemagne—a splendid vision of Austrian ambition, as impracticable as grand. What power in our day could unite under one effective government such incongruous elements as Holstein, Lombardy, Galicia, Hungary, Croatia? The party advocating this plan was called the Large Germany party (Grossdeutsche Partei).

Austrian question.

Heinrich von Gagern proposed a fourth middle course. He would (with modifications) revive the old Germanic Confederation *without Austria*, Prussia at the head. His party was called the Little Germany party—that is, Germany without Austria. The Austrian-German provinces were at the same time to form one separate federative State, with Austria at the head. And these two Germanys, the Austrian and the Prussian, were to be united in a friendly union by a treaty which should regulate, according to their separate needs, all their material interests.

The government of the Archduke John was instructed to consult Austria as to her views on the subject.

In the meanwhile, the debates went on upon the questions: What shall be the form, and who shall be the chief of what may be called the Prussian-Germany? Among the various propositions (all rejected) were the following: I. A Directory, consisting of Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Saxony. II. The King of Prussia and Emperor of Austria to alternate in succession every six years, as Emperor. III. A chief magistracy, to which every German citizen might aspire. IV. Revival of the old Bundestag, with certain improvements.

On January 23, 1849, the resolution that one of the reigning German princes should be elected, with the title of Emperor of Germany, was adopted (two hundred and fifty-eight against two hundred and eleven). As it was plain the throne could be offered to no one but Prussia, this was a breach between the Parliament and Austria. The large minority, two hundred and eleven, was formed by a coalition of the Austrian party and the radical members of the Parliament. The two extremes thus united.

Austria's view on the subject.

Austria now communicated a note, January 5, 1849. She indignantly rejected the programme of Gagern, announced her right to remain in the German Confederation, and declared that no constitution should be adopted, except with the concurrence of all the governments, and intimated that among those governments Austria had the right and the power to take the first place. The programme of the Little Germany party was, nevertheless, submitted to a committee, which reported in its favor. The report was put to the vote, January 13, 1849, and accepted (two hundred and sixty-one against two hundred and twenty-

four). The Parliament thus decided for a Germany without Austria.

First reading of the constitution.

The first reading of the constitution was completed, February 3, 1849. The middle and smaller German States declared themselves ready to accept it, but the kingdoms remained silent.

Note from Prussia, Feb. 1, 1849.

A copy of a circular note, temperate, clear, and fair, addressed by the Prussian Cabinet to all the German governments, had been already communicated to the central government of Germany. It proposed that the constitution, as now finished, should be laid before the governments, for their consideration. It denied the sovereignty of the Parliament, pointed out the fact that it was invested with authority only to frame a constitution; but declared its proceedings justified by the circumstances. It added, his Majesty the King did not consider the appointment of an Emperor a necessity, and would not accept that dignity without the free consent of the governments.

New note from Austria, Feb. 3, 1849.

A new note from Austria demanded the admission of her entire provinces, German and non-German, into the Germanic Confederation, and proposed a Directory, seven persons, under the presidency of Austria, as the central power, assisted by a Senate appointed by the State, and not embarrassed by any representative assembly. This was less a proposition than a demand. The excitement produced was not diminished by the news from Austria. The popular Parliament at Kremsier had been dissolved, and an *octroyirte* constitution decreed for the entire Austrian Empire. All the Austrian provinces, German and non-German, were fused together into one mass, the German, the Croatian, the Magyar, the Italian element, all one. The note

awakened indignation and alarm in the Parliament, and in the whole country. Did Austria intend to destroy the liberties of Germany by a *coup d'état?* Were Jellachich, Windischgraetz, and Haynau coming to Frankfort? The note increased the desire to emancipate Germany from Austria altogether. It was objected that, instead of uniting Germany, the last-named project would break her apart. Such a mutilation it was declared would be as infamous as the partition of Poland. Thirteen million Germans would be excluded from Germany. The answer was: "It would be, not a mutilation, but an amputation."

Welcker's motion, March 21, 1849.

Under the influence of the Austrian note, Welcker rose and exclaimed: "The country is in danger! Save the country!" He moved that, in order to waste no more time, the constitution should be passed *en bloc;* and that the Imperial crown be bestowed upon the King of Prussia. The resolution was rejected (two hundred and eighty-three against two hundred and fifty-two); the Extreme Left voting with the Austrian Ultramontanes. The Prussian party were now frightened, and offered concessions. They agreed, if the Left would vote for the king, the Prussian party would admit the democratic electoral law, with universal suffrage by ballot, and the suspensive veto. For this price, the Left agreed to vote for Frederic William IV. as hereditary Emperor.

Coalition of the Left with the Austrian party.

At this moment, Austria represented the reaction supported by military power. The smoke from the cannon of Radetzky, Jellachich, and Haynau, could almost be inhaled on the air of Frankfort, and the bullets of Windischgraetz, in the person of Robert Blum, had reached the Assembly itself.

Austria spoke with the menacing sternness of a conqueror.

Prussia, on the contrary, represented rational reform and real Christian progress. Frederic William IV. had gained a victory over the revolution (November, 1848), without violating a promise, and without voluntarily shedding a drop of blood.

The real question before the Parliament was, whether Prussia or Austria should be leader of Germany. The motion of Welcker, in favor of the constitution and of Frederic William as Emperor, had been rejected by what Rieser of Hamburg called a shameful coalition between the radicals and Austria. The radical minority, in order to give to the constitution a more democratic form, contrary to the will of the majority, joined with the Austrians, Bavarians, Würtembergers, Saxons, and Hanoverians, and placed the Gagern party in the dilemma, either to deliver Germany into the hand of Austria, or to accept a constitution with the extreme radical addition, and which had two vital defects: I. It was contrary to the will of the Parliament, which the German nation had, by universal suffrage, elected to frame it. II. The paragraphs thus forced into it, were directly contrary to the wishes of the principal governments, who had not only the will, but the power, to reject it.

The constitution accepted by the Parliament.—Frederic William IV. elected Emperor, 1849.

With Austria threatening on one side, and the Danish war on the other, and new insurrections breaking out, the friends of the country, anxious to save it, equally from reaction and revolution, felt the necessity of bringing their discussions to an end at any cost. On March 27, the hereditability passed by a majority of four. On March 28, the constitution, with the democratic

electoral law, universal suffrage, the ballot, and the suspensive veto, was voted and accepted. Of five hundred and thirty-eight members present, one hundred and seventy-two refused to sign, mostly Austrians and Ultramontanes. President Simson then called the name of each member to vote upon the question of the Emperor. There were two hundred and ninety votes for Frederic William IV. The Austrians and Ultramontanes, two hundred and forty-eight in number, refrained from voting.

On being informed of the election, the Archduke John openly expressed his indignation.

Suspensive veto.

The suspensive veto was as follows: "If a bill be passed by the Imperial Parliament in an unaltered form in three successive sittings, the bill shall become a law without the consent of the king."

The corresponding section of the American Constitution, which gives to the House of Representatives and Senate the veto power, reads as follows:

"Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases, the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting

for and against the bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively."

The German law was thus too democratic for the United States of America.

The most contradictory opinions were drawn forth by this constitution. Weber, at one moment, accords almost unlimited praise, but adds, it was in some points impracticable. He says, also, the Left did not "regard it as the final object of their efforts, but only as a step to a Republic."

The constitution as a whole.

A deputation consisting of thirty of the most distinguished members, was immediately sent to Berlin to communicate to the king his election as Emperor. The deputation was received in the white hall of the royal Schloss. To the offer of the crown, his Majesty replied he "could not accept without the consent of all the governments, and without having more carefully examined the constitution." His refusal has brought upon him heavy charges, against which he has found able defenders; among these was Bismarck, who openly and earnestly opposed the acceptance.

King Frederic William refuses the crown, April 3, 1849.

Another deputation presented to the minister, Count Brandenburg, a petition of the Prussian National Assembly, that the king would accept in obedience to public opinion. Count Brandenburg replied: "Public opinion is like the storm and the wind. Prussia would always mark and respect it; but never, never, never could a wise pilot abandon his ship altogether to its guidance."

Austria instantly rejected the constitution, protested against the authority of the Parliament, and recalled all her representatives from Frankfort. The King of Würtemberg accepted; but rejected the House of Ho-

henzollern as head of the Empire. Bavaria, Hanover, Saxony, rejected; twenty-eight of the smaller German States accepted. In these were included the free-cities Hamburg, Bremen, Lubeck.

How the constitution was received by the German States, April-May, 1849.

After the refusal of the crown by the King of Prussia, the Parliament appointed a committee of thirty to consider the best mode of establishing the constitution in every German State. This only made more clear the irreconcilable elements of which the Parliament was composed. A part desired the constitution, but not without the consent of the governments. The Left were determined to push it through by the revolution. The unnatural coalition between the Radical and the Ultramontane party was here broken. The confusion was increased by a new resolution, declaring that no one could be elected as Emperor who did not accept the whole constitution. The governments which had not yet accepted were commanded to abstain from every measure which could prevent the people from expressing their opinion. The central German government was requested to communicate this resolution to the different German governments, and to report upon the subject before the 3d of May. Thus the principle of dissolution was rapidly effecting its work. There was conflict between the governments and their people; between the stronger governments and the Parliament; between one half of the Parliament and the other half; between the government of the Archduke John and the Parliament, and between one half of the duke's ministers and the other half.

Committee of Thirty.

A motion by Mr. von Wydenbrugk brought matters to a crisis. On May 4, he moved the following resolutions:

I. The Frankfort Parliament summons the German governments and people to bring into operation the constitution of the German Empire of March 28. II. A new Parliament shall be elected on August 1, 1849, to meet at Frankfort on August 22. III. Should Prussia not elect representatives, then the dignity of the Imperial Stadtholder shall pass from Prussia to the reigning sovereign of that State which has the largest population (excluding Austria).

The Wydenbrugk resolutions, May 4, 1849.

Mr. von Beckerath warned the Parliament against the danger of this measure, and proposed an adjournment of a day or two. His advice was rejected. The motion was carried by a majority of two.

On April 28, Prussia addressed a circular note to the governments, inviting them to send representatives to Berlin, for the purpose of framing a new constitution. The note added: In case of any attempt to force the Frankfort constitution upon the country, Prussia was ready to render to the governments all necessary assistance. This note had been called forth by the threatening proceedings of the revolutionary party in Saxony and Baden.

A new note to the governments, April 28, 1849.

The Wydenbrugk resolution, in fact, dissolved the Parliament. The radical party loudly accused the majority of treason. The leaders of the revolution appealed to the people. On May 3, an insurrection broke out in Saxony. The ground was here prepared by a perfectly free press. The peasants were poor, and the manufacturing towns crowded with excited laborers in possession of the right of suffrage. A representative assembly had been elected, which demanded the immediate recognition of the Frank-

The insurrection in Dresden, May 3-9, 1849.

fort constitution. The King Frederic August II. dissolved the Assembly. The people in Dresden rose, in order to storm the arsenal, but were received by a body of troops, who fired upon them. The whole town was in an uproar; all the bells rang. Barricades were built. Immense numbers of combatants crowded into the town. On the next day, May 4, the insurrection increased. New numbers appeared, armed with scythes and pikes. The king, with his family and ministers, retired to the fortress of Königstein, on the Elbe, near Dresden, seven hundred and fifty feet above the surface of the river. A provisional government was formed in Dresden, with *Tzschirner* at the head. Suddenly was raised the red flag, and increasing hordes of combatants, not belonging to Saxony, gave to the revolt the character of a communistic uprising. The commander-in-chief of the insurgents was a Russian, named Bakunin. On May 6, Prussian troops appeared, called by the Saxon government, and attacked the barricades. The battle lasted three days. The old Opera House, and part of the palace called the "Zwinger," with valuable collections of art, were burned. The insurgents fired not only from the almost impregnable barricades, but from the roofs and windows of houses. But on the night of the 9th, their positions were stormed. A signal had been agreed upon, by the insurgents, for simultaneous flight in case of defeat. In the course of the night, the signal was given. The great bell of the Kreuz-church tolled *three times three.* The insurgents abandoned the city. Dresden was declared in a state of siege.

When the news of the outbreak reached the Frankfort Parliament, the radical party were pushing through a resolution that the military of every German State should

swear to the constitution. Every hour brought new reports. The accounts of the Prussian intervention increased the excitement. A radical speaker, amid stormy approbation from his party, cried: "You have framed a constitution. Defend it! The people of Saxony are fighting for it. Assist them! They have placed themselves under your protection. Protect them!" "What," replied Mr. von Gagern, "shall the Parliament enter the ranks of the revolution? Shall we light the flames of civil war? If one half of Germany draw the sword against the other half, I would cast myself between them at the last moment!" The Left replied by laughter. A voice was heard: "*Only scoundrels laugh at such a declaration!*" Roars of fury answered this observation.

News of the Saxon insurrection in the Frankfort Parliament.

A new resolution of Mr. von Reden was passed: "I. The military intervention of Prussia in Saxony, and in all other places, was to be opposed by every possible means. II. The endeavors of the people to establish the constitution must be protected by every power, and all the force within their reach."

A new resolution, May 10.

By this, the Parliament formally declared a new revolution.

The archduke now appointed a highly reactionary ministry. Graevell, Detmold, Jochmus, etc. A resolution branded this ministry as an insult to the Parliament. When the ministers appeared in the Assembly, they were greeted with scornful peals of laughter.

New ministry.

The King of Prussia now recalled all the Prussian representatives. The right of the king to recall members who had been elected by the people, was disputed. But

(May 20, 1849) sixty-five distinguished members, waiving legal questions, signed a declaration of voluntary withdrawal, and left the Paul's Church in a body. Among them, von Gagern, Simson, Dahlmann, Arndt.

Withdrawal of members.

By the withdrawal of the party of Gagern, the true representatives of German liberty, and by the gradual disappearance of most of the moderate members (one or two left nearly every day, sometimes forty in one day), the Parliament, now a mere revolutionary committee, dwindled down to about one hundred members. A resolution proposed by Carl Vogt, was passed to transfer the sittings to Stuttgart. The object was to be nearer the rising revolution. The Rump Parliament sat in Stuttgart under the presidency of Loewe von Calbe.

Rump Parliament transfers its sittings to Stuttgart, May 30, 1849.

On June 6, the Rump Parliament in Stuttgart elected a central government of its own. Five men: Carl Vogt, Raveaux, Henry Simon, Schueler von Zweibruecken, and Becher.

New central government.

The last resolutions of the Rump Parliament were as follows: One approving the insurrection which had broken out in the Bavarian palatinate and in the Grand Duchy of Baden; another, organizing the people of Würtemberg into a revolutionary army; another, deposing the government of Wurtemberg and demanding five million thalers. While these were being discussed, the Minister-president of Würtemberg, Mr. Roemer, an old soldier and liberal-minded statesman (who had done his best to introduce real reforms, and who had been among the first to convoke the Heidelberg Assembly, March 5, 1848, for the purpose of calling the Fore-Parliament), caused the build-

Dispersion of the Parliament.

ing in which the Parliament held its debates to be surrounded by troops. The Assembly was then dispersed. "From that time," says Weber, "the public saw few of the members of the Rump Parliament, except as accomplices in riots, fugitives, prisoners, or defendants at the bar of justice."

Remark on the Frankfort Parliament.

Thus fell the Parliament of Frankfort. The child of revolution, it had attempted an impossibility, a Germany without the most powerful portion of the Germans. The radical party was too unreasonable, and the masses too little inclined to follow them. "Nevertheless," says the historian whom we have quoted on this subject, "the nation will always look with pride and admiration upon this Parliament, which presents so many brilliant names, so much various and noble talent, which showed itself so temperate in the use of its power, and the great majority of whose members presented such memorable examples of courage, patriotism, political wisdom, and private virtue."

Revolutions in Baden.

The German revolutions commenced and ended in the Grand Duchy of Baden. For about two hundred miles, the frontier of that duchy adjoins Switzerland and France. The leaders could thus easily enter the territory of those republics, and could hope to escape as easily in the hour of danger. This revolution was distinguished from others by the circumstance that it gained a portion of the military. By a mutiny in the regular army, it intrenched itself in the first-class fortress, Rastadt. There were, in all, three attempts at revolution in Baden.

First, that of Struve and Hecker, April, 1848. At the moment when France was entering upon the struggle of

the June days, Struve and Hecker unfolded the banner of the Red Republic in Constance. The Frankfort Parliament, as already related, sent a military force, under command of General Friedrich von Gagern. That general, to avoid bloodshed, proposed an interview with Hecker. They met in front of their lines. A shot from an unknown hand, as already stated, struck General von Gagern dead. The indignant troops immediately attacked, and put the insurgents to flight.

First Baden insurrection, April 12, 1848.

After the armistice of Malmoe, August, 1848, and the consequent outbreak in Frankfort, Struve again raised the red flag in Baden (near Basel, September 20, 1848). His proclamation contained the following points: "All who resisted to be shot; all conservative persons to be imprisoned; all taxes abolished; public treasuries confiscated; all landed property belonging to the State and Church to be the property of the people; the property of all conservatives confiscated, and given to the people; persons imprisoned on the suspicion of being enemies of the revolution, to be released on the payment of a sum of money." The revolution had been falsely declared victorious in all other parts of Germany. A motley rabble flocked to the new dictator, but were immediately routed with heavy loss. Struve, with difficulty, escaped being torn to pieces by his own men. He was afterward arrested by burghers and delivered to the Baden authorities, and, instead of being shot, imprisoned.

Second insurrection, September 20, 1848.

The breaking up of the Frankfort Parliament, and the rejection of the constitution by Prussia and other States, encouraged the revolutionary agents to make a new attempt. The

Third Baden insurrection.

Red Republic was proclaimed; a new monster meeting convoked; a revolutionary committee formed, and the radical press again shrieked for confiscations, massacre, and the gallows.

Military mutiny in Rastadt, May 11, 1849.

On May 11, 1849, a military mutiny broke out in the Baden fortress of Rastadt. Drunken soldiers drove out their officers. Emboldened by this, the revolutionary committee, sitting at Offenburg, proposed to the government the most exaggerated demands; of course, refused.

Outbreak in Carlsruhe.

On May 13, 1849, Carlsruhe was in full revolution. Large re-inforcements, generally drunk, were sent from the revolutionary committee of Offenburg. They were joined by a part of the regular troops. Bullets whizzed, houses were demolished, and a number of persons murdered. The grand duke and his family withdrew to the fortress of Germersheim. The revolutionary committee made a triumphant entry into Carlsruhe; Struve (who had been forcibly released from prison) and Brentano at their head. Brentano had the sense to perceive that his colleagues were wholly unqualified for the task they had undertaken. He proclaimed, from a balcony, security of life and property, and resisted the attempts to inaugurate a reign of terror. His companions, however, — Struve, Willich, Heinzen, Becker, Blind, Bornstedt, and others,—declared the movement had thus far failed, because it had not been carried on with sufficient energy. The provisional government immediately deposed the grand duke, and established a triumvirate.

The grand duke now applied to Prussia for help. A strong force was immediately sent, under the personal command of the Prince of Prussia, aided by troops of

Intervention of Prussia.

the central German government, fifty thousand in number. The twice pardoned, ubiquitous Mieroslawski was commander-in-chief of the insurgents; under him the Polish Generals Sznayde, Oborsky, Gajewski, and (Germans) Willich, Sigel, Blencker, Eichfeld, Anneke, Zitz, Metternich, etc. (it is scarcely necessary to say the last was not the President of the Congress of Vienna!). Their forces consisted of about forty-five thousand, including many deserters from the Bavarian and Baden armies, with eighty cannon. The insurgents were completely defeated. Heidelberg and Mannheim were for a few days under a reign of terror, till relieved by Prussian troops. The remains of the Rump Parliament, the Baden Constituent Assembly, and the lately-elected Imperial regency, who had assembled in Carlsruhe, joined in the flight. The insurgents had carried with them all the public cash from the State treasury and post-office, which they could lay hands on at Carlsruhe. Ten thousand men, with most of the leaders, escaped to Switzerland, where they were disarmed. Hecker, who had been recalled from America, returned to his farm in Illinois, without having set foot upon the territory of Baden. Brentano fled with the rest; and published a defense of himself, in which he mercilessly accused his late colleagues. The flight was marked by shameful acts. Beside the two and a half million florins robbed from the State treasury at Carlsruhe, many private persons were robbed; that is, in more polite phrase, their property was confiscated. Various houses were plundered, and not only individuals, but whole districts laid under heavy contributions. "The army dissolved into robber-bands."

The revolution was now suppressed; except at Ras-

tadt. The Baden revolution (May 11, 1849) had here commenced by a military mutiny; and here it ended (July 21) by a surrender at discretion. On June 23, the fortress had been given up by the mutineers to an insurgent corps under the command of Mieroslawski. Through this mutiny, the revolution had been maintained nearly two months. Mieroslawski had left, and been succeeded in command of the fortress by General Tiedemann, a military officer once in the service of the Grand Duke of Baden. His present forces consisted of soldiers of the Baden army who had deserted to the revolution, Poles, Swiss, and other volunteers. The devoted garrison had been deceived by an infamous and cowardly system of false intelligence, and believed the revolution triumphant throughout all the rest of Germany. The poor fellows expected every moment to be relieved by the victorious hosts of Mieroslawski, Struve, Hecker, Brentano, and Blind. On July 6, the Imperial troops invested the fortress, and summoned it to surrender. Upon a haughty refusal, the fortress was bombarded and the besiegers were preparing to storm, when a white flag appeared, and an offer to surrender was made, in case the garrison should be convinced of the falsity of the information which had been palmed upon them by their commanders and colleagues. General von der Groeben accepted the offer. Tiedemann was convinced, and the fortress surrendered at discretion. Tiedemann and four thousand five hundred men laid down their arms. The Prussian flag now floated from the Neckar to Lake Constance. The prospect of the garrison was a dark one. A military mutiny, even in time of peace, still more of war, and yet more of revolution, knows the alternative—success, or death.

Rastadt, July 21, 1849.

A large number of the leaders were tried and shot. Among others, Dortu, Elsenhaus, Biedenfeld, von Truetzschler, Hoefer, Boening, Jansen, Bernigau, Mniewski, Dietz, Tiedemann (commandant), etc. The men who had initiated the movement, Mieroslawski, Struve, Brentano, Blind, had of course escaped across the frontier, where the smoke of their cigars almost mingled on the breeze with that of the volleys inflicting death upon their deluded followers.

Executions.

It was for taking part in this insurrection that Gottfried Kinkel was sentenced to imprisonment for life in the fortress of Spandau. Carl Schurz aided him in escaping. Kinkel was a noble character, honestly struggling for rational liberty, only mistaking the best way to obtain it. Before the military court which condemned him, he made the following, almost prophetic, remarks:

Kinkel and Carl Schurz.

"I beg that my actions may not be confounded with the filth and pollution which have formed a part of this revolution. If the King of Prussia now adopt a bold and firm policy; if his Royal Highness, the heir to the throne, succeed with the sword—and it can never be done without the sword—in fusing our country into one united Germany; in making it great and respected abroad, and really and permanently free at home; in dividing more equally throughout the whole of Germany that military burden which now weighs so heavily; and, above all, in procuring bread for *my poor*, for I appear before you as their representative,—if your party can succeed in doing that, then I openly protest, as the honor and greatness of my fatherland are dearer to me than any *ideal* form of government of my own; if you can do that, then I protest I would be one of the first with joyful heart to cry: '*Long live the German Kaiserthum! Long live the Hohenzollern Empire!*'"

If this generous revolutionist be yet alive, he will acknowledge that the wish here expressed has been tolerably well accomplished.

CHAPTER XXVII.

STATE OF EUROPE.

INTRIGUES OF AUSTRIA AND THE SOUTHERN STATES TO PUT DOWN PRUSSIA—DEATH OF FREDERIC WILLIAM IV.

BY the battle of Novara (March, 1849), Sardinia had been conquered, and Italy redelivered into the power of Austria. By the battle of Temesvar, etc. (Haynau, Jellachich, August, 1849), Hungary had been subjected, and her rebellion awfully avenged, by relentless executions. The revolutions in Prague and Vienna had been finally crushed, and the leaders shot. The Frankfort Parliament had been exploded. The Austrian government was thus triumphant and, although overloaded with debt, free to act. One enemy remained—Prussia; and that enemy was striving to supplant the ancient House of Hapsburg upon the German throne. Flushed with victories and supported by many German States, Austria now descended into the arena, confident of success. From the time of the Great Elector and the great Frederic, to the day when the German nation offered her the Imperial crown (Frankfort Parliament, April 3, 1849), Prussia had manifested her increasing strength, and her just pretensions to the leadership of Germany. Her German population was larger than the German population of Austria, or any other German State. She, moreover, as we shall presently see, now placed herself at the head of the party of progress, by sincerely adopting a liberal

system. Austria determined not to surrender her supremacy without a struggle. This struggle now commenced, and ended in the war of 1866.

Prussia, also, had come out of the revolution stronger than she went in; but not strong enough yet to compete with her rival. Baden, Bavaria, Saxony, had come to her for aid, and been saved by her troops. She wished honestly to draw out of the wreck of the revolution all that was really worth preserving.

The events preliminary to the war of 1866 are confused and involved, and may appear at first uninteresting; but they become less so when we regard them as the processes by which the present German Empire began to form its roots, and strike them deep into the ground. Who would not be glad, by aid of a microscope, to observe the movements and mysterious operations by which the acorn, committed to the ground, springs from decay and becomes an oak?

Prussian Union, or Three Kings' League, May 26, 1849.

After his refusal of the crown (April, 1849), Frederic William had, as already stated, addressed a circular note to the German governments, inviting them to send representatives to Berlin, for the purpose of framing a new German constitution. This resulted in a union, called the "Prussian Union, or the Three Kings' League"; a league between Prussia, Saxony, and Hanover, under the leading of General von Radowitz. Seventeen of the smaller governments accepted. Bavaria and Würtemberg also entered into negotiations, which they, however, purposely prolonged, in the hope of an opportunity to break them off.

The members of what was called the party of the Emperor, Gagern, Dahlmann, etc., at their head, among

them, many of the wisest and best men in Germany, met in a self-constituted parliament at Gotha, and unanimously proclaimed their determination to support the new Prussian Union. This was the party who, in the Frankfort Parliament, had offered the German crown to Frederic William IV. Prussia here attempted to form a Germany, excluding Austria.

Gotha party, April, 1850.

A central executive (Verwaltungsrath) of the Prussian Union was now founded as the embryo of a new Bundestag. It consisted of plenipotentiaries from the three Kings of Prussia, Saxony, and Hanover, and of each of the other seventeen governments.

Central executive of the Prussian Union.

On September 7 and 8, Frederic William and Francis Joseph personally met at Pillnitz; each appointed two plenipotentiaries, and these four were clothed with the powers of a provisional central German government till 1850, or till a new constitution should be agreed upon by the majority of the States. On the appointment of these four plenipotentiaries (Minister von Kuebeck and General von Schœnhals for Austria; President Boetticher and General von Radowitz for Prussia), the government framed by the Frankfort Parliament expired.

Interview between the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Austria, 1849.

The Archduke John, after a reign of about eighteen months, resigned his office into the hands of the four central plenipotentiaries. The revolution thus surrendered its sword to Austria and Prussia. The great question now lay between those two powers. In the latter months of his office, the duke supported the interests of Austria against Prussia.

Resignation of the Archduke John, Dec. 20, 1849.

The object of the Prussian Union was first to prevent Austria from forcing all her provinces into the German Confederation. Prussia had taken up Mr. von Gagern's old plan (the only reasonable one), namely, to exclude Austria, with her German and non-German provinces, and afterward to effect, by treaty with Austria and her German provinces, a friendly union as close as was compatible with mutual interests. The second object was to reconsider the constitution adopted at Frankfort, to remove the impracticable clauses, and to clothe it with the assent of the German princes, as well as of the German people. That is, Prussia conscientiously thought to found a solidly-constructed constitutional system.

Prussian Union abandoned by Saxony and Hanover.

A Union Parliament was convoked by Prussia at Erfurt. A constitution was adopted, which, however, never came to any thing, as in the moment of need, Saxony and Hanover abandoned Prussia and went over to Austria. Austria had protested against the Erfurt Parliament, and addressed a threatening note, declaring that Prussia was violating the still existing and obligatory Act of Confederation of 1815. This was a piece of news. If the Act of Confederation were valid, then the old Bundestag was valid; and all the advantages—and there were many—resulting from the revolutions of 1848 had passed away. That was just the information which Austria meant to communicate.

Erfurt Parliament. April, 1850.

On the failure of the Three Kings' League, Austria proposed another, called the Four Kings' League—Saxony, Würtemberg, Bavaria, and Hanover. (At this time, the old Duke of Cumberland was King of Hanover. He died in 1851,

Four Kings' League.

and was succeeded by his son George, who subsequently became blind.) These four States intended to form a new German government, to consist of a Directory of seven: Austria, Saxony, Würtemberg, Bavaria, Hanover, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Hesse-Cassel. Prince Schwarzenberg, Minister of Austria (who, the reader will remember, was called to the head of the Austrian Cabinet, 1848), hastened to communicate the assent of Austria, on the condition that all her provinces should be admitted into the new Germany.

Prussian constitution, Feb. 6, 1850.

After a struggle of six months between the *octroyirte* Chamber and the king, Frederic William, a constitution, liberal and satisfactory, even to reasonable opponents, was agreed upon and adopted. The king solemnly swore to it with emotion, and repeated the words he had uttered at the Huldigung in Königsberg: "I and my house, we will serve the Lord." This constitution, says Bulle (a sharp critic of the king), was a great step forward, and it was taken irrevocably. Prussia had now firm ground under her feet. A deep sympathy was felt for the monarch, who had passed through so many heavy trials, as he delivered his speech, which, every one felt, came from his heart.

Würtemberg accuses Prussia, March 15, 1850.

The King of Würtemberg opened his Landtag with expressions against Prussia, betraying the determination of Austria and the southern States to carry out their plans by force. The Three Kings' League, he said, had justly awakened the deepest passions in the breast of Germany. It was an attempt to rend Germany asunder. It presupposed that the German States were ready to be annihilated. It was an open breach of the Act of Confederation, and an intentional violation of the most sacred treaties.

Prussia ready for war.

Prussia prepared for war, recalled her ministers from Hanover and Würtemberg, demanded and received from the Prussian Chambers a loan of eighteen million thalers, and placed at the head of her War Department General von Stockhausen, a man on whom she could depend.

Revival of the old Bundestag, Sept. 1, 1850.

The provisional central government of the four plenipotentiaries had expired. Austria now made a bold stroke. Prince Schwarzenberg determined to revive the plans of Metternich. His daring policy took Germany by surprise. By a circular note to all the German States, he convoked, at Frankfort, April 26, 1850, a plenary session of the members of the old German Confederation of 1815, as if all the movements of 1848 had never taken place, or were beneath his notice. The note expressed the desire to establish a definitive central government; Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, Würtemberg, Hesse-Darmstadt, Hesse-Cassel, Luxemburg accepted. Prussia declined, and invited all the German princes to meet in a Congress at Berlin. This "Congress of Princes" met; but many friends of Austria crowded into it only to overthrow it. To this, Austria replied by a circular note to the German governments, July 19, 1850, inviting them to send representatives for the re-opening of the old Bundestag (September 1, 1850). Prussia declined, also, this invitation, declaring the old Bundestag inadequate, and in contradiction to the promises made. The Bundestag, notwithstanding, met. Several States now withdrew from the Prussian College of Princes, and joined the Austrian Bundestag. There were thus, at the same time, two central governments of Germany: I. The new College of Princes, created by Prussia, under the leading of Count Brandenburg and

Baron Manteuffel. II. The old exploded Bundestag, resuscitated by Austria, under the leading of Prince Schwarzenberg. The Emperor of Austria and the Kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg now had a personal interview at Bregenz, a town of the Austrian Tyrol. The position was rendered more dangerous by two burning questions, both of which the old Austrian Bundestag, thus raised out of its grave, determined to decide, not only without the co-operation of Prussia, but in ostentatious and premeditated defiance of her protest against the Bundestag as an illegal tribunal. We must now glance for a moment at these two questions—the second Schleswig-Holstein war and the quarrel of the Prince of Hesse-Cassel and his State.

Second war of Schleswig-Holstein, March 26, 1849 — July 2, 1850.

After the first armistice of Malmoe, followed by the Frankfort massacre, had expired, March 26, 1849, Denmark immediately recommenced hostilities by blockading the German coast in the moment of Germany's greatest weakness. The German central government sent an Imperial army, under General Prittwitz; and Frederic William, a Prussian army, under General Bonin. With their assistance, the duchies gained a series of brilliant victories. The finest war-ship of Denmark, the "Christian VIII.," with eighty guns, having stranded, was shot to pieces, and at last blown up; another war-ship, the "Gefion," was captured, and annexed to the German fleet; while the duchies, confident of victory and independence, were carrying all before them, the troops of Prittwitz gradually withdrew from the military operations. At the battle of Fridericia (the fiercest in the war, July 6, 1849), they absented themselves altogether; in consequence of which the Danish troops, under General Rye,

gained a complete victory. General Rye was killed. At this time, Prussia signed a new armistice with Denmark, in the name of the German Bund. General Bonin, and all the Prussian officers and troops, were recalled. The brave duchies were thus again abandoned by their allies. How can we explain this? The Frankfort Parliament had been dissolved (June 8, 1849). The Austrian party wished the duchies delivered to Denmark. Frederic William was in a dilemma. England, Sweden, and particularly Russia, demanded the cessation of hostilities, and were ready to intervene with a military force. The cause of Schleswig-Holstein was becoming more and more identified with the revolution rising again in Baden and Rhenish Bavaria, and for the suppression of which Prussia had promised troops; the Danish blockade was inflicting heavy injury upon German commerce; and lastly, a quarrel between Austria and Prussia threatened a great civil war, in which Russia (Emperor Nicholas) had manifested his intention to take the side of Austria. Frederic William, in this matter, was as helpless as the duchies themselves. His father, Frederic William III., Frederic the Great, and Frederic William, the Great Elector, had each been in a similar dilemma.

Story of Hesse-Cassel, Sept.-Oct., 1850.

In the Electorate of Hesse-Cassel, a liberal constitution had been granted in 1830. After the suppression of the revolution of 1848, the Elector, Frederic William I., by aid of his Minister, Hassenpflug, and General Haynau, brother of the Austrian general so celebrated for his cruelty, determined to abolish the Constitution of 1830, and to establish an old-fashioned despotism. The Elector commenced a quarrel, by abruptly demanding from the Chambers a loan of seven hundred and sixty thousand thalers. The

Chambers refused. They were dissolved. New Chambers were elected and dissolved. An order was then issued to collect the taxes without the Chambers. The magistrates and collectors declined to obey, on the ground that they had sworn to the constitution. The town and the Electorate of Cassel remained in complete repose, when suddenly the whole country was declared in a state of siege. These measures were intended to produce an insurrection, but all remained still. We have here the anomalous spectacle of a government urging a revolution, and the people refusing. The state of siege was without effect. The military officer who had command, was ashamed and resigned. The troops began to murmur. Everybody thought the hated Hassenpflug would lay down his office. Not at all. He persuaded the Elector to fly from Cassel in the middle of the night, as if the town had been in a roaring revolution, and his life in danger. The government was transferred to Hanau, near Frankfort, where the just resuscitated old Bundestag was in session. Hassenpflug dismissed the magistrates, substituting creatures of his own; refused payment of all salaries and pensions. The payment of these was, however, continued by a committee of the people. Hassenpflug now called for an intervention of the Bundestag, which immediately promised to support him with troops. Thus emboldened, he proceeded to new and more violent measures. The state of siege was rendered more strict. The whole country was placed under a military dictator, General Haynau. Magistrates and courts of justice were forbidden to offer the least opposition, under the penalty of a military court. What next? Nearly all the officers of the Elector's army, two hundred and forty-one in number, resigned. Among them four generals, seven

colonels, twenty lieutenants, fifty first-lieutenants, eighty-nine second-lieutenants. They declared their duty to the constitution had become irreconcilable with obedience to the prince. The dictator stood alone, with no one to execute his decrees. The people remained quiet. The Bundestag now intervened. An army of Austrian and Bavarian troops crossed the frontier to Hanau. Frederic William sent a military force, and occupied Cassel and Fulda. The foreposts of the Austrian and Prussian armies met at Bronzell, and had a slight skirmish; subsequently explained as the result of a misunderstanding.

Prussia bends before Austria, Nov. 25, 1850.

The eyes of all Germany were now directed to Cassel. Prussia mobilized her army, and the Prince of Prussia was appointed commander-in-chief. The Prussians thought the question of Austria's supremacy was to be settled at last by the instrument with which the Macedonian madman untied the Gordian knot. At this moment, the Austrian plenipotentiary in Berlin communicated a note from Prince Schwarzenberg to the Prussian Cabinet, which in substance contained the following question: "Will the Prussian government consent to an intervention of the Bundestag troops in the affair of Hesse-Cassel?" An answer was requested within twenty-four hours. The answer was affirmative.

Conference of Olmütz, November 29-30, 1850.

Prince Schwarzenberg now raised the old Hapsburg cry: "Degrade Prussia, and then demolish her." His avowed object was to force her back from the position she had taken in Germany; to withdraw from her the sympathy, not only of the German people, but of the German governments; to sweep away every trace of the popular rights obtained

in 1848–1849, and to extend the power and the flag of Austria over Prussia, and all the other German States, from the Danube to the North Sea and Baltic. In this plan, he, for a moment, nearly succeeded. In the personal interview at Olmütz between Schwarzenberg and Manteuffel, it was agreed that Schleswig-Holstein should be abandoned to Denmark, and the people and States of Cassel to Hassenpflug and Haynau; that a conference of the German governments for the definitive regulation of the affairs of the Confederation should be immediately held at Dresden.

Dresden Conference, December 23, 1850—May 15, 1851.

At the Dresden Conference, it was agreed to place Germany back again under the old Bundestag. Prussia joined in the invitation addressed to the German governments. The Prussian troops were suddenly withdrawn from Cassel; the prince and Hassenpflug triumphantly returned to their metropolis with full power to carry out all their plans. Schwarzenberg believed he had thus forced Germany permanently back to the position in which she had stood at the close of the Congress of Vienna; that Prussia had forever lost her power and prestige; all claim to supremacy, and all hope of a Prussian central government. Here was the culminating point of the reaction and of the humiliation of Prussia. Under the continued administration of Baron Manteuffel, the Evangelical Church and the schools of Prussia were threatened by the Church of Rome. The whole episode is an illustration of an apparent law, already referred to, in the development of the House of Hohenzollern, where a defeat has so often been a prelude to an increase of power. Rome and the reaction seemed to have conquered at last. All the struggles of

Germany since 1815 had been in vain. The Heidelberg Assembly, the great Frankfort Parliament, the representative system, the constitution which Prussia, after so much hesitation, had at last sincerely accepted, were at an end. Germany, like a fugitive slave, had been brought again to the feet of her masters, Austria and Russia.

Russian influence.

We say Russia, because, since the Treaties of Vienna, that power, although indirectly, had exercised a strong influence, not only over Germany, but Europe. Who restored the Bourbons? Russia. Who originated the Holy Alliance? Who entertained a paid agent in Germany (Kotzebue) to promote the reaction? Who suppressed the Hungarian revolution? Who, when the Elbe-duchies had obtained their freedom, redelivered them to Denmark?

In his great distress, Frederic William IV. trusted to a broken reed. He called upon the Russian Emperor, Nicholas, to mediate. Count Brandenburg, Prince Schwarzenberg, and the Emperor Nicholas in person had a meeting at Warsaw, at which Nicholas, instead of assisting Prussia, cast his whole weight into the scale of Austria. He betrayed Frederic William IV. at Warsaw, as Alexander had betrayed Frederic William III. at Tilsit. Every thing Prussia proposed was put down; every thing Schwarzenberg asked was granted. Count Brandenburg returned to Berlin, and died of a broken heart; in his delirium, demanding vengeance for the wrongs and insults inflicted upon his sovereign.

Frederic William had discovered that Austria with her allies, the south and middle German States, was too strong for him. He had not yet a complete military organization. He might have carried on a civil war, but it could only have been successful by an alliance with

the revolution. He had accepted progress, but he had not accepted revolution. He has been almost universally blamed for what has been considered a cowardly and unnecessary surrender. It is not easy, however, to see how he could help it. The Prussian statesmen and soldiers, Bismarck, Moltke, Roon, knew that the abandonment of Schleswig-Holstein and Cassel could but be temporary; and that, however Prussia, for a moment, might bend before her enemy, it was her only way to secure final success. They determined that Austria should pay dear for the humiliation she had inflicted. Frederic William IV. had advanced so far in the Schleswig-Holstein affair without understanding the daring recklessness of Schwarzenberg, who, in fact, had sprung a trap upon him. Bismarck, in the Chamber, openly defended the course of Prussia, which proved, at last, to be the right one. No chess-player ever made a better move. Austria, like a gambler, had played high, and won; but only as gamblers so often do, to lose all her winnings, and ten times more. The way of Prussia, through the conferences of Olmütz, Dresden, and Warsaw, led to Königgrätz, Gravelotte, and Sedan. So when Joseph, the son of Jacob, was about to be raised to the throne of Egypt, he was first cast into a pit, and then sold as a slave.

Attempted explanation of the course of Prussia.

The duchies, now wholly deserted, sought to make an arrangement with Denmark. This failed, from the arrogance and national hatred of the latter. The duchies then made a heroic effort to carry on the war alone. But after several bravely-fought battles, Denmark proved too strong for them. Other heavy calamities fell upon them. The powder magazine at Rendsburg exploded, with a loss of

Schleswig-Holstein after Olmütz, from 1850 to May, 1852.

over one hundred men, almost destroying the town; and a heavy rain set in, which made further military operations impossible.

The reaction seemed triumphant not only in Prussia, but in all Germany. Protestantism and political liberty were in danger. And here we remark an interesting illustration of the sleepless watchfulness with which Rome pursues her plans. The helplessness of Prussia, and the reactionary current which had set in so strong, emboldened the Jesuit preachers to come forth from their hiding-places. In 1855, two years before the first regency of the late Emperor, William I., as King of Prussia, Austria concluded a Concordat with the Pope, stipulating that the Roman Church and clergy should be clothed with all the rights belonging to them by the decrees of God. Some of these rights they had never possessed before. The Prussian bishops in the Rhine province published a memorial containing the most daring demands, in which, conscious of their strength, they openly threw down the gauntlet to the Prussian government and to the Protestant world.

The old Bundestag begins again to administer the government of Germany.

The Bundestag, thus revived, immediately proceeded to business. The contributions of the people had enabled the government of the Duke John to purchase some vessels as the commencement of a German fleet. These vessels, the Bundestag now advertised for sale. The fundamental law which the Frankfort Parliament had been so long in framing, was abolished by a stroke of Prince Schwarzenberg's pen. An old-fashioned committee was appointed to regulate the interior affairs of Germany. The constitution of Hesse-Cassel was summarily suppressed; the Schleswig-Holstein war with Denmark

(October, 1850) terminated, and the duchies redelivered, helpless, into the hands of Denmark.

Death of Schwarzenberg.

Schwarzenberg's dissolute life was ended by an apoplectic fit (April, 1852). A reactionary press law was subsequently issued, July 6, 1854. Germany looked on with amazement and dismay.

Hesse-Cassel after the Conference of Olmütz.

After his triumph, Hassenpflug wreaked upon the people all the malice of a narrow-minded, revengeful despot. Not only was the constitution of 1830 abolished and the press muzzled, but bullying dragoons were quartered upon helpless families; trivial offenses punished by military courts, and the leaders of the opposition tried for treason and condemned to several years' imprisonment in fortresses.

Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein after Olmütz, from 1850 to May, 1852.

Schleswig was separated from Holstein, and placed under a government of three persons named by the King of Denmark. The duchies were occupied by a Prussian army in the south, a Swedish in the north, and a Danish in the islands.

London Conference and what it did, May 8, 1852.

A Congress, consisting of representatives of four of the Great European Powers (England, France, Austria, and Russia) was convoked by England, in London (May 8, 1852), to regulate the Schleswig-Holstein question, to maintain the integrity of Denmark (and the Treaties of Vienna), to suppress the revolution, and to establish peace in Europe. It decreed a new law of succession for the Kingdom of Denmark, and declared Prince Christian IX., successor of the childless King Frederic VII., for the entire Danish monarchy, including Schleswig-Holstein. This protocol was subsequently signed by Sweden, Hanover, Saxony, and Würtemberg; also (one of the marks of her humilia-

tion), by Prussia; not by the German Bund. Thus "were annihilated all the long, previously-existing constitutional rights of the duchies, and the Danish government was declared absolute sovereign from the Skager Rack to the Elbe and from the Sound to the North Sea."*

We shall see how this Conference accomplished its purpose. Instead of suppressing the revolution, it produced a revolution in Holstein. Instead of maintaining the integrity of Denmark, it hastened the rending of both duchies from Denmark, and their incorporation into Prussia. Instead of maintaining peace, it caused a civil war, which broke Germany apart, and threw Austria out altogether; and instead of restoring the Treaties of Vienna, those ordinances may be said to have been finally destroyed by the London Conference.

Denmark and the duchies after the London Conference.

If the Conference exhibited a want of wisdom, Denmark imitated her great protector. The king was not unreasonable; but a turbulent democratic party pushed him forward. The cry was: "Give us our rights, and lead us on to trample upon the rights of our neighbors!" The Danish government, counting upon the support of the European Powers, began a policy of terrorism. The incorporation of the duchies was resolutely undertaken. First, Schleswig. Denmark did not conceal her intention, after Schleswig's annexation, to submit Holstein to the same fate. The peace treaty had been concluded by Prussia, in the name of the Bundestag. A new government, consisting of five members, presided over by a Commissioner of the Bundestag, received authority to abolish every law and every concession obtained by Schleswig-Holstein since 1848. The rich military stores,

* Weber.

provisions, ships, and other war munitions were delivered up to Denmark. The army was reduced to one third, and placed under the command of a Danish officer. The union between Schleswig and Holstein was weakened. A heavy pressure was brought to bear upon the old Duke Christian of Augustenburg, the next legal heir to the duchies. Under penalty of the confiscation of his property, he was compelled to renounce his right to the throne for a compensation in money. This he did; but he had no right to do it, as he had a son of age, Prince Frederic of Augustenburg, whose just right could not be alienated by his father. Thus the integrity of the Danish Kingdom was supposed to be established permanently on the ruins of the rights of the duchies. The injustice of the London Conference had been somewhat veiled by a clause imposing upon Denmark the obligation to accord to the duchies equal national rights and certain of their old privileges; but Denmark regarded this clause as a mere blind to public opinion. And all stipulations in favor of the duchies were shamelessly violated. Denmark seems to have acted on the idea that the duchies, like two young refractory colts, had been delivered to her for the purpose of being broken into the traces. "*Whatever opposes itself to me*," said Mr. von Schiel, the Danish Minister, "*I will trample beneath my feet.*" Schleswig was declared a Danish province, without separate rights. In Schleswig, Danes, often of a low character, were appointed to offices. Schleswig was treated like a conquered province. German school-teachers and clergymen were removed, and Danes substituted. Not only the German language, but German customs, were to be abolished. Danish troops, policemen, officials, were scattered through the whole land. Germans were particularly selected for

garrisons in distant colonies. Germanism was treason, and punished as such. The duchies were not only to be un-Germanized, but *Dänisirt.* Fleet, army, post, coinage, tariff, every thing, was to be pure Danish. Even the old Bundestag, under the pressure of the rising public opinion in Germany, reminded the Danish Cabinet that the duchies had been surrendered on conditions which it was violating. Denmark, feeling that the European powers were on its side, received the threatened intervention with derision. Be it remembered that the London protocol had been signed, not only by most of the European powers, but by several of the German State governments,—Hanover, Saxony, Würtemberg, etc. The unfortunate duchies remained thus thirteen years, from the London Conference of 1850 till 1863. Who freed them from Denmark? That is what we are about to relate.

New Danish constitution.

The King of Denmark, July 29, 1854, to pacify the duchies, had proclaimed a new liberal constitution, extending equally to all the Danish provinces. The duchies found, however, that this in reality left them in the minority, and offered no relief. What they wanted was separation from Denmark.

Bismarck in the Bundestag, August, 1851.

Immediately after the Conferences of Olmütz and Dresden, and while Schwarzenberg was congratulating himself upon the destruction of Prussia, Frederic William IV. had named Bismarck, Minister to the newly revived Bundestag. On asking him if he would accept the appointment, Bismarck modestly replied: "Your Majesty can try me; if I fail, call me back." The king said: "Go in God's name," and he *went;* the first three months as Secretary

of Legation, then as full Minister. Schwarzenberg little suspected "what manner of man" had taken his seat at the Bundestag table. Bismarck himself suspected it just as little. His eyes had not even yet been fairly opened as to the real state of Germany, and of Prussia, and as to the changes going on throughout the whole world. He did not, like Minerva, spring full grown and armed *cap-a-pie*, out of the brain of Jove. He had been born in a narrow aristocratic circle, and had only a one-sided view of many questions. He gradually learned, and had the boldness openly to change his opinion He was in favor of an absolute unlimited monarchy; a Prussian every inch, and ready to sacrifice his life for his king and fatherland. When he commenced his duties in the Bundestag, he found Germany disunited and almost broken asunder, and Prussia humbled into the dust. He ascribed it to the revolution. He regarded Austria as the friend and colleague of Prussia. He had not been long at Frankfort, before he made the discovery that since 1815, Russia and Austria, with Metternich as their instrument, had blindfolded and betrayed Prussia; and that Austria, under her mask of friendship, hated Prussia and was intriguing with the southern and middle States to accomplish her ruin. Indeed, Austria believed she had already accomplished it. Her representative, Count Thun, the President of the Bundestag, openly assumed, in that body, a superior rank, as if representing a liege lord and a German Emperor. The representatives of the other German States acquiesced as vassals. Bismarck looked on with astonishment and indignation. Count Thun was in the habit of smoking in the Bundestag meetings. No other member had ever dared to think of such a thing. We may imagine the

astonishment of all, as the representative of the conquered Prussia, one day in the presence of his assembled fellow-vassals, walked up to the president with a cigar in his hand, and said: "Excellency, may I beg a light?" The president was too much astounded to refuse, and Mr. von Bismarck, after lighting his cigar, puffed out rival clouds of Prussian smoke, as much at his ease as if he had been already *Kanzler* of the coming German Empire, and President von Thun one of his secretaries. Many Austrian plans and visions floated away with the fumes of those two cigars. The circumstance was immediately communicated to all the Cabinets of Germany, where it produced violent discussions. If Prussia dared to smoke, why should not Bavaria? And if Prussia and Bavaria smoked, why should not Saxony, Hanover, Würtemberg, Darmstadt, and the rest? The representatives of those States accordingly received instructions, and came to the meetings provided with well-filled cigar-etuis. Some of them, however, had never smoked, and the first cigar is an experiment as perilous as the first sea voyage; but the honor of their governments was at stake, and the diplomate, like the soldier, must perform his duty, *ruat cœlum.* In various other ways, Bismarck asserted the right of Prussia to equality with Austria. One other example. An Austrian general, with a numerous staff, each blazing with orders, appeared at Frankfort to assist at a great military review. Bismarck was at that time a Landwehr (militia) lieutenant, but as Prussian Minister had received several orders from various German States. The Austrian general had the idea to quiz the diplomate of the humbled Prussia. At the review, in presence of all his staff, pointing to the orders on the breast of Bis-

marck, he said: "Pray, your Excellency! All won before the enemy?" "Yes, Excellency," replied Bismarck, "all before the enemy—all at Frankfort-on-the-Main!"

This review was held by the Prince of Prussia, who here, for the first time, became personally acquainted with Bismarck, and here commenced that mutual confidence, out of which grew the present German Empire. The prince spoke of the necessity of thoroughly reorganizing the Prussian army, in which Bismarck fully acquiesced.

In September, a softening of the brain compelled Frederic William IV. to appoint the Prince of Prussia, temporary Regent, and in October, 1858, the unfortunate monarch, by a royal decree, authorized him to exercise the whole legal authority in the king's name as sole Regent, according to his best knowledge and conscience, responsible only to God. This regency lasted three years.

Prince of Prussia Regent, 1857.

A new order of things immediately commenced. At Olmütz (1850), without a battle, Austria had humbled Prussia into the dust. At Novara (1849), she had conquered Sardinia, taken Venice, and subjected the whole Lombard Venetian kingdom. It was naturally the interest of Prussia and Italy to stand by each other against a common enemy. The new Regent took the necessary steps to bring about an alliance.

On October 26, in the great, white hall of the Schloss, and in the presence of the two houses of the Landtag, the prince took the oath to respect the constitution. The reactionary ministry, Manteuffel, immediately resigned in favor of a liberal ministry, Prince Anton von Hohenzollern Sigmaringen, Minister President.

On November 8, the Regent made a speech to his

ministers. Nothing could be further from his intention, he said, than to break with the past (that is, although he would carefully carry out the reforms which had been adopted in the spirit of the representative system, he did not mean to abandon the monarchical form of government). With regard to religious affairs, he said a kind of orthodoxy had entered into the Evangelical Church not in harmony with her fundamental principles. Hypocrites, who used religion merely as a cloak for selfish purposes, must be unmasked. This orthodoxy had been an obstacle in the way of the Evangelical Union and had endangered its existence. The rights of the Roman Church, he added, were constitutionally defined and guaranteed to her. An attempt to transcend their limits would not be tolerated. Public instruction must be conducted upon the principle that Prussia, by her high educational institution, ought to lead in the way of true intelligence.

Bismarck, Minister to St. Petersburg, April 1, 1859.

Bismarck's opposition in the Bundestag to the pretensions of Austria, was probably thought too open and premature, and he was now appointed Minister at St. Petersburg. Announcing this in a letter to his wife, he said: "They have laid me on ice."

Roon, Minister of War, December 5, 1859.

One of the secrets of the subsequent success of the Prince Regent is that, from the very beginning, he understood the position of Prussia among the European nations, and commenced to select the proper agents for the strengthening of her power. He knew the elements at work against the advance of Prussia, and that she would be crushed if not prepared to meet them on the battle-field. He was determined to wipe out the disgrace of Olmütz, and to

protect Prussia from the aggressions of Austria. In December, 1859, he appointed von Roon, a faithful and able old soldier, Minister of War. Like Bismarck, he was *stock* Prussian, and like Moltke, thoroughly military. He immediately began a wise plan for the reorganization of the army, which, for several years, was opposed by a majority of the Second Chamber, and which greatly agitated the nation. This plan he finally carried through.

Death of Frederic William IV., Jan. 2, 1861.

King Frederic William now died, at his palace, Sans Souci (Potsdam). He has been misunderstood and misrepresented. He came to the throne at the moment of a great historical crisis. Prussia had reached the point of development, where the old system of government was doomed to fall, as inevitably as the blossom must fall to make way for what is to come after. Neither Frederic William nor Bismarck, at first, clearly understood this process of development which was going on in the world. Frederic William had ascended the throne with the feeling of an ancient German Emperor, earnestly desirous to promote the happiness of his people, but in the old-fashioned way. He was afraid of revolution and universal suffrage. When he discovered that the good and wise men of Prussia really desired a constitutional government, he gave it. The revolution was suppressed, but the representative system remains to this day. Germany should not forget that this system, although with unconcealed apprehension, was, in fact, established and honestly maintained by Frederic William IV. As a son, brother, husband, friend, he was universally and justly esteemed and beloved. One of his German critics, writes: "Endowed with brilliant talents, witty, spiritual, a lover of art, amiable, eloquent, full of noble enthusiasm, honor flowed

naturally from his heart, and won the affection of all around him. *But*—he was *strengkirchlich*" (that is, he believed in the Gospel, as preached by Paul).

No doubt, during the long reigns of such sincerely Christian monarchs as Frederic William IV. and his father, an attempt was made to distinguish between believers and unbelievers, in appointments to office, etc., etc., and many office-hunters assumed the mask of Christianity, merely for the purpose of political advancement; as there was a Judas, an Ananias, and a Sapphira, even among the first followers of Jesus.

Dr. Tellkampf.

It is not generally known that Frederic William IV., before the revolution of 1848 broke out, was engaged in preparing a liberal constitution for Prussia. After the speech with which he had opened the united Landtag (1847), the debates of that Assembly and other expressions of the national will, had convinced him of the necessity of a representative system. He invited Dr. Tellkampf (then member of the House of Lords) to several private interviews, and requested him to furnish an outline of a constitution, such as ought to satisfy the nation. Dr. Tellkampf drew up a sketch, and the subject was under discussion when the revolution broke out. These circumstances were related to the writer by Dr. Tellkampf himself.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

REIGN OF WILLIAM I.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE REIGN OF WILLIAM I. OF PRUSSIA—QUARREL OF THE KING WITH THE CHAMBER—BISMARCK PRESIDENT OF THE MINISTRY—NEW WAR WITH DENMARK—WAR, WITH AUSTRIA, OF 1866.

FREDERIC WILLIAM IV. was succeeded by his brother William I., who had been regent four years. The new king had made up his mind upon four points: I. He would maintain a liberal parliamentary government. II. He would not abandon the monarchical form.

William I., King of Prussia, Jan. 2, 1861.

We must bear in mind that he had received from his ancestors a monarchy which, during the previous five hundred years, in spite of defeats and humiliations, had steadily risen higher and higher among the nations. The margraviate of Brandenburg, so insignificant and feeble under George William, had now become one of the most stately edifices of Europe. Renowned historical characters had labored in its construction. The Great Elector had completed its massive foundations. Frederic the Great, with all the armies of Europe against him, had increased its grandeur and strength. The king's father, Frederic William III., had successfully defended it against the tyranny of Napoleon I., and Frederic William IV. had guarded it against the Red Republic and materialism on the one side, and Ultramontanism on the other. It rep-

resented Protestantism, rational progress, authority, and order. It was natural for the king to maintain his throne, and, in his upright, straightforward way, he declared he would do so.

III. He determined to protect Prussia and Germany from the unscrupulous plans of Austria and France. The French scepter had been seized by the feeble hand of an adventurer, seeking to retain it by open war or secret intrigue. The powerful Russia was ready to ally herself with any one who would promote her ambitious policy. We have seen that Prussia could never rely either on Alexander or Nicholas. Denmark was the enemy of Prussia, from the connection with Schleswig-Holstein; and Sweden and England had shown their readiness to co-operate against Germany. A class of the German people had lost all faith in Christianity, and, under the leading of political demagogues and profane fanatics, were in danger of rushing from the bigotry and slavery of the dark ages into the opposite extreme of atheism and lawlessness.

IV. To meet the probability of a decisive conflict with Austria, and of a sudden war with France, the king had been long laboring for a fundamental reorganization of the army. He would have no more battles of Jena; no more conferences of Olmütz; no more armistices of Malmoe; no more Schwarzenberg notes to be answered within twenty-four hours.

The king's first step on mounting the throne was to issue a proclamation to his people, promising the consolidation and development of the new political institutions. This was followed by an universal amnesty for political offenses.

The Landtag was opened with a speech, in which he

declared that, "in order to preserve the integrity of the German territory, and in consideration of the weak military power of Prussia, compared with that of other European States, it was necessary to strengthen the army. He hoped the representatives of the nation would not withhold their support from a measure so indispensable."

Landtag, Jan. 14, 1861.

The House of Lords immediately voted the extra appropriation asked by the government—eight million five hundred and fifty-one thousand three hundred and thirty-four thalers. The Abgeordnetenhaus manifested a strong opposition, and, after violent debates, and by a majority of only eleven, voted, not the sum asked by the government, but seven million eight hundred and one thousand three hundred and thirty-four thalers (that is, seven hundred and fifty thousand less). This sum was, moreover, voted only for one year.

The king closed the session with another speech. He declared himself contented, but added: "We must not forget that the Prussian king holds his crown by the grace of God."

Landtag closed, June 5, 1861.

The king now issued another decree to the following effect: "In consideration of the liberal changes, and of the fact that Prussia had ceased to be an absolute government, he abolished the usual solemn, feudal ceremony of the Huldigung (that is, the oath of fealty and obedience usually taken by the provinces to a new king), and that, instead of it, his coronation would take place (October 18) in Königsberg." The people received this manifesto with displeasure. It was hoped by some that not only the Huldigung, but the coronation, would be abolished, as, to use the words of Bismarck, "belonging to the dark ages."

Huldigung abolished, July 3, 1861.

Attempt to assassinate the king, July 14, 1861.

A few days after the manifesto, the king having gone to Baden-Baden, a young assassin, ambitious to become a Brutus and save the country, fired at him, inflicting a slight wound. The fanatic, a student named Oscar Becker, was condemned to twenty years' imprisonment, but pardoned after some years.

Coronation at Königsberg, Oct. 18, 1861.

The coronation took place at Königsberg. To a deputation of the Landtag (October 17), the king made the following speech: "The sovereigns of Prussia receive their crown from God. I will to-morrow take the crown from the table of the Lord, and place it upon my head. It is inviolable. It is surrounded by new institutions. Their mission is to support the crown by their advice. They will advise me, and I will pay due attention to their counsel." The whole country was agitated and alarmed by these expressions, understood as indicating a reaction. This was a mistake. The king was as sincere in his promise to maintain the constitution as in his promise to maintain the throne. The Prussian people, however, frightened by the professional agitators and a part of the press, became more and more alienated from the government.

Party of progress.

A new party, called the Fortschritt party, was formed with the following programme: A popular German central government; fundamental reforms in Prussia; responsibility of ministers; obligatory civil marriage; reform of the House of Lords, and a greater economy in the military organization.

This brought a programme from the Conservative party. Among the paragraphs were the following: A king by the grace of God; marriage by the Church:

Christian schools; Christian magistrates; development of the constitution in the direction of German freedom; and of love and fidelity to the king and fatherland.

Conservative party.

A new Landtag was now elected with an immense majority of the Fortschritt party. It manifested a determination to oppose all increase of the army, and all additional appropriations. The ministry resigned, and the king dissolved the Chamber (March 6, 1862).

New Landtag, Jan. 14, 1862.

At this time, the king called Bismarck from St. Petersburg to benefit by his counsel. It seems to have been the king's intention to place him at the head of the ministry, but for some reason this idea was not then carried out.

Bismarck called from St. Petersburg, March, 1862.

Bismarck was therefore sent as Prussian Minister to Paris. This appointment was as full of consequences as that to the Bundestag. In the latter, he learned to know Austria; in the former, Napoleon III., who had been Emperor ten years, and who, notwithstanding the Crimean and Italian wars, felt himself more and more insecure upon his throne. Bismarck saw through his plans to play Austria and Prussia against each other; perceived his "itching palm," by fair means or foul, to annex various European territories. Napoleon thought he had also measured the length and breadth of the Prussian Minister, of whom he declared he was "not very deep, and that in fact there was nothing in him."

Bismarck Minister to Paris, May-Sept., 1862.

During this period, the king made every effort to convince the Abgeordnetenhaus and the people that he had not the least idea of a *coup d'état* or reaction. The Fortschritt party had published its programme. In his

proclamations and speeches to the Landtag, the king had also published his programme. It was fair, open, and sincere. He wished to do every thing for a free development of a truly constitutional government, but he did not mean to abandon the monarchical form. Among other things, he had demanded the restoration in Hesse-Cassel of the liberal constitution of 1830, which the Elector, aided by Schwarzenberg and Hassenpflug, as the reader will remember, had abolished in 1850. On the threat of a military occupation, the Elector now restored this constitution to his people.

New Landtag, May 6, 1862.

A third Landtag was then elected. It was still more liberal than the others. It sent to the king an address almost revolutionary in its tone, demanding, among others things, the completion of the constitution; the protection of the schools from the (Christian Protestant) Church, etc., etc.

The quarrel now reached its height. The budget for the army was rejected, three hundred against eleven. The ministry resigned. This was the position of affairs when the king called Bismarck from Paris, as the head of the ministry.

Bismarck Minister-President and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sept. 16, 1862.

Bismarck had spent some time with Napoleon at the sea-bath Biarritz, and had afterward made an excursion to the Pyrenees. As he stood one day on the summit of a mountain-height, enjoying a magnificent view of Spain stretched at his feet, a messenger reached him with a telegram. King William called him back to Berlin as head of a new Prussian Ministry, and Minister of Foreign Affairs. The War Minister von Roon was sent to meet him on his way back, and acquaint him with the state of affairs.

The breach between the king and the nation was widened by this appointment. Bismarck was known only as the bigoted Junker and reactionist; who in the united Landtag had regretted the dark ages; had expressed the wish that the great cities could be blotted from the earth, and declared his certainty that the crazy ship of skepticism would at last be wrecked against the rock of the Church. The people and the Abgeordnetenhaus believed he had been appointed to restore absolutism, and extinguish the last spark of freedom in Prussia.

Changes of opinion in Bismarck, 1851-1862.

During his residence at Frankfort, St. Petersburg, and Paris, as appears from his private letters at that time, his opinions on some points had undergone a great change. He had learned that, whether for good or evil, the dark ages had passed away, and that a new form of government had become indispensable. He remained, however, *stock Prussian;* certain that the monarchy was the only form of government for Prussia, and that the king's intentions were equally honorable and wise. On his accession to the ministry, he used every effort to procure the consent of the Chamber for the desired loan. He explained, as far as diplomatic rules and the public interest allowed, the dangerous position of Prussia and Germany. There were reasons which he could not give to the Chamber; among them the fact that Napoleon from time to time had indirectly inquired whether Prussia, on condition that France would support her in her quarrel against Austria, would permit Napoleon to annex Belgium, the Prussian Rhine province, etc., etc. This circumstance, which showed that the very existence of Prussia was in danger, could not at that time be communicated to the Chamber. It was on this occasion that he used the

words: "We have now time and opportunity to perfect our army. If we neglect them, we are lost. Not by speeches and majorities must the great questions of our time be decided, but by iron and blood." His words were received with witticisms and laughter. They called him the "blood-and-iron minister!"

Landtag session closed, Oct. 13, 1862.

The Abgeordnetenhaus passed the Army Appropriation Bill, but so cut down that it was equivalent to a rejection. The House of Lords in its turn rejected the bill thus cut down, and passed the bill as originally presented by the government. In reply, the Abgeordnetenhaus pronounced the resolution of the House of Lords a violation of the constitution. The moment this resolution had been passed by the Abgeordnetenhaus, came a message from Bismarck, declaring *the session of the Landtag closed, and that inasmuch as it had been found impossible to come to a constitutional agreement with regard to the budget, the government was under the necessity of deciding upon the budget in a form not appointed by the constitution. It was fully sensible of the responsibility which this deplorable state of affairs compelled it to take; but it was equally aware of its duty to the country, and in that duty it found its right to raise the sum required for the preservation and welfare of the fatherland in a way not appointed by the constitution. The government would itself raise the necessary sum, with the certainty that the measure would receive the subsequent consent of the Landtag.*

Bismarck now became the most unpopular man in Germany. He knew, as he once afterward declared, that he stood between the penitentiary on one side, and the scaffold on the other. He bore his unpopularity as he

had borne the hisses and noises in the united Landtag, and he soon added to it.

An insurrection in Russian Poland rendered it necessary to decide which shall Prussia aid, the Russian government or the insurgents. A large part of the German people favored the insurrection. Bismarck sent troops and aided in suppressing it. Had he not done so, he would have converted the powerful Russia into an active enemy and caused a rising in Prussian Poland; and that at the moment when Austria was preparing for a final life struggle with Prussia, and Napoleon was waiting an opportunity to make a spring upon her.

Insurrection in Russian Poland, Jan., 1863.

A new event here followed. In the Kingdom of Denmark, the "Denmark to the Eider" party had got the upper hand, and Schleswig was at last arbitrarily incorporated into the Danish Monarchy by the childless King Frederic VII.; this was one of his last acts.

Incorporation of Schleswig into Denmark, March 30, 1863.

Almost immediately afterward, he died; and the heir selected by the London protocol, Christian IX., called in derision the Protocol Prince, ascended the throne as King of the entire Danish Monarchy, including Schleswig. Denmark did not conceal her determination at the earliest moment to incorporate also Holstein.

Death of the Danish King Frederic VII., Nov. 15, 1863.

The revolution now broke out in the duchies, and all Germany demanded a military intervention in their favor. The Prince of Augustenburg, who would have been the legal heir, had not his father illegally and for a large sum of money renounced his right, unfolded the banner of revolution, and proclaimed himself Frederic VIII., Duke of Schleswig-

Revolution in Schleswig-Holstein.

Holstein. The majority of the German nation now loudly demanded that the duchies should be cut absolutely and definitively loose from Denmark. Nine hundred representatives of different German States, a new self-elected Parliament of the people, assembled at Frankfort, to encourage and support the revolution. The officials in Schleswig-Holstein refused to take the oath to the new Danish king. The Prince of Augustenburg was received in Schleswig-Holstein with universal acclamations; and fragments of Chemnitz's song:

> "Schleswig-Holstein! Firmly stand!
> Yield not, O my fatherland!"

were heard in the day and in the night, from one end of Germany to the other. Austria and the Bundestag would have been glad to redeliver the duchies to Denmark. King William and Bismarck, on the other hand, would have completed the deliverance of the duchies, but both Prussia and Austria had signed the London protocol. In obedience to public opinion, however, they united in an order to the Bundestag which sent an army of execution and federal commissioners, and occupied Holstein by Hanoverian and Saxon troops.

Austrian and Prussian war against Denmark, Feb.-Oct., 1864.

We have already stated that the London Conference had restored the duchies to Denmark, on the condition that she should respect their rights. The incorporation of Schleswig was a direct violation of this condition. The two great German powers, therefore, demanded that Schleswig should be reunited with Holstein. Denmark, counting on the support of England, Russia, and Sweden, refused. A Prussian and Austrian army, therefore (the Prussian under the old General Wrangel and Prince

Friedrich Karl, and the Austrian under General von Gablenz), occupied Schleswig. The war lasted nine months. Both Prussians and Austrians fought with striking success. The Prussians, under Prince Friedrich Karl, were particularly distinguished by the storming of the Dueppel Heights. Repeated and heavy losses broke the power and pride of Denmark.

During October, there was more danger of Denmark being incorporated into the duchies, than the duchies into Denmark. Prince John of Denmark made a hasty journey to Berlin, and figuratively, if not literally, went down on his knees before the King of Prussia, and begged for peace.

In the treaty of peace, the King of Denmark renounced all right to the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein and Lauenburg, in favor of the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia; paid a large sum for war expenses, and published a proclamation, releasing the duchies from their allegiance.

Peace of Vienna, Oct. 30, 1864.

We understand why the Bundestag had taken part with the duchies in obedience to an irresistible public opinion. But why did Austria so persistently keep her place by the side of Prussia? Had her heart been touched with the sorrow of Schleswig-Holstein meerumschlungen? No; she had kept by the side of Prussia to see that her rival did not strengthen herself by any addition to her territory. She had entered into alliances with the middle German States, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony, Hanover, Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Hesse-Cassel, and was again prepared to renew the struggle in which she had been so victorious in 1850.

The Convention of Gastein regulated some side ques-

tions between Austria and Prussia. These two powers agreed to possess a common sovereignty over both duchies; Austria, for the present, to administer the government of Holstein; Prussia, of Schleswig. The Emperor of Austria, for two and a half million Danish thalers, to surrender the small Duchy of Lauenburg exclusively to Prussia. The Prussian General von Manteuffel was appointed Governor of Schleswig; the Austrian General von Gablenz, of Holstein. After the close of the war, King William advanced Bismarck to the rank of Count.

Convention of Gastein, August 14, 1865.

New London Conference.

England had called another London Conference, and invited France to take part. The time for London conferences and Malmoe armistices had, however, passed, and the new conference came to nothing.

The duchies were now, at last, free. The course of Austria and Prussia, one would think, was clear. There were the duchies demanding their duke. There was the duke demanding his duchies. His right had been recognized by Frederic William IV. of Prussia. But new pretenders had come forward. The House of Holstein-Gottorp advanced a claim. The Grand Duke of Oldenburg entered the list. There was one other candidate. Prussia herself had been looking over her genealogy, and discovered certain rights of her own. She submitted the question to the crown lawyers, who pronounced the opinion that "both the Oldenburg and Prussian claims were invalid, and that the claims of the House of Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg were also invalid." Prince Frederic of Augustenburg had possessed a claim to a part of the duchies, but this claim had been extinguished by the renunciation of

After the Schleswig-Holstein war of 1864.

his father. The Danish law of succession of 1853 was valid. The King of Denmark, Christian IX., by the London protocol, had been the only legal sovereign, and his right, by the Vienna Treaty of Peace, had passed to Austria and Prussia (one bone to two dogs)! This was a bad prospect for the Prince Frederic of Augustenburg. A party in Schleswig-Holstein sent a deputation to Berlin to petition for an annexation to Prussia. The deputation was very graciously received by Bismarck, who declared such an annexation the only course desirable under existing circumstances. A large portion of the inhabitants wished for the Prince of Augustenburg, and asked that the question of future relations with Prussia might be left to him. Austria made the same demand for the Prince of Augustenburg. A dispatch of Prussia (February 22, 1865), to the Cabinet of Vienna, stated certain conditions upon which the Prussian government would consent to cede the duchies to an independent sovereign; among the conditions were: The army and navy of Schleswig-Holstein to be united to those of Prussia; all fortresses occupied by Prussian troops, and such a territory ceded to Prussia as she might require, for the purpose of cutting a canal from the North Sea to the Baltic; also, territory for a naval harbor; the duchies to enter into the Zollverein; post and telegraph to be united to those of Prussia, and every Schleswig-Holsteiner serving in the fleet and army to take an oath of allegiance to the King of Prussia. On those conditions, and on those alone, Prussia would consent that the duchies, under a sovereign of their own, should take an independent place among the powers of Europe. These conditions, however, apparently arbitrary, were, under the circumstances, indispensable.

If the Prince of Augustenburg, by the influence of Austria, should, as a sovereign prince, enter the Germanic Confederation, he would be there under the protection and as an agent of Austria, and perhaps of Denmark, to the danger of Prussia. These conditions were rejected by all parties. Prince Frederic would not abandon the command of the Schleswig-Holstein army. Austria, without an ample equivalent, refused to surrender her joint right to the duchies. So Prussia retained possession of Schleswig as an indemnity for her war expenses, and waited a favorable opportunity.

This opportunity soon presented itself. The Austrian government became every day more and more absorbed in her great struggle with her own people, and her finances were not in a state to encourage her to assume a commanding position in the affairs of the duchies. At the instigation of Bavaria, Saxony, and Hesse-Darmstadt, the Bundestag had expressed the conviction that Austria and Prussia would place Prince Frederic of Augustenburg on his throne. But Austria could not, and Prussia would not do any thing of the sort.

The policy of Prussia was now to persuade or force Austria to abandon the duchies altogether. An attempt was made to buy her out. This failed on a question of honor (perhaps also of price). Prussia had determined to annex the duchies, and now began to take her position more openly. While the iron Governor von Manteuffel, in Schleswig, was threatening to shoot every agent of Prince Frederic caught in his jurisdiction, from the other side of the Eider might almost be heard the shouts of large public meetings, calling for Prince Frederic, their duke, not only undisturbed, but encouraged by the Austrian Holstein government. A monster meet-

ing of Schleswig-Holsteiners and other Germans at Altona, demanded the restoration of the legitimate Duke Frederic. This brought from Bismarck a note to the Austrian Cabinet. The Prussian Minister-President scarcely concealed his threat under diplomatic forms. "Austria," said the note, "was acting in direct contradiction to the Vienna Treaty and the Gastein Convention. Prussia had a right to demand a strict observance, and that the *status quo* should be maintained in Holstein. At present, revolutionary tendencies unfriendly to every throne, were carried on in Holstein under the protection of the Austrian eagle. Should Austria continue this line of conduct, Prussia must see her way clear. If the two powers are not to be absolutely united, Prussia must have the full freedom to act as her interests may require. Austria and Prussia now fall back into the same relations with regard to each other in which they had stood before the beginning of the Danish war."

The Austrian Cabinet (Count Mensdorff, Minister of Foreign Affairs) replied with moderation, but gave no satisfactory explanations. Count Caroli, the Austrian Minister in Berlin, requested Bismarck to explain what he meant by the phrase: "Austria and Prussia now fall back into the relations with regard to each other in which they had stood before the beginning of the Danish war." Bismarck's answer did not remove the impression of the threat.

In a reply to a delegation, Bismarck now declared that any attempt to support the sovereignty of the Duke Frederic, or any one else, would be punished as felony. Prussia had now against her Austria, the Federal Diet, a part of the German press, and many German governments. They saw an ambitious determination to place

herself at the head of the German Empire by force. Austria seized the moment to acquire the popularity which her old rival was throwing away. She made a move (March, 1866), and communicated through her ministers to the governments of the different German States, her intention to demand of the Prussian government whether it intended to respect or to violate the Gastein Convention; and, in case of an unsatisfactory answer, the Austrian Cabinet would proclaim the failure of her union with Prussia on the Schleswig-Holstein question, and would demand the intervention of the Federal Diet, according to the eleventh article of the Act of the Confederation. The question was at the same time put confidentially to the German governments whether the Austrian Cabinet could count upon their support. At the same time, Austria made several warlike preparations. The fortress of Cracow was armed, and large bodies of troops marched to the Silesian frontier. In Berlin, these steps were promptly followed by similar measures; but Bismarck took a more decisive step. He struck a blow at the head. As Austria had united with the Federal Diet against Prussia, he determined to put the Diet out of the way altogether. In a circular dispatch to the German government (March 24, 1866), he proclaimed the approaching conflict, the necessity of arming in reply to the Austrian military preparations, and still more, Prussia must have guarantees for the future, and these guarantees the German Confederation, in its present form, had not the means to give. If Prussia were attacked by Austria, the Diet would not and could not defend her. By the geographical position of Prussia, her interests and those of Germany were identical. A weak Prussia must make a weak Germany. Europe was

threatened with great changes. If they were to find the German Confederation in its present weak form, Germany might share the fate of Poland. (It is strange, indeed, to hear the fate of Poland alluded to by Prussia, and in a note to Austria.) The dispatch required each German State to answer how far Prussia could count on it in case of war, concluded with the information that Prussia was determined to undertake a reform of the German Confederation, so as to bring it more in harmony with existing realities.

The replies to this dispatch were hesitating. Bismarck was fully prepared to act alone, not only without the German States, if need be, but with a powerful and alarmed party against him in Prussia itself.

Demonstrations in favor of peace came from all sides. Bismarck replied by arming the fortresses and mobilizing the army. At the same time (April, 1866), he signed a treaty with the government of Victor Emmanuel.

Italy had now become an independent kingdom, and Austria had been almost, but not quite, driven out of that land. In 1859, Napoleon III. had undertaken a war against Austria for the nominal purpose of creating a free Italy to the Adriatic. One result of this war was the cession by Austria of Lombardy to Napoleon, who ceded it to Italy on condition that Savoy and Nice should be ceded by Italy to France. Venice still remained Austrian, and Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy, could not sleep in peace till he had the whole of his beautiful country beneath his scepter. The alliance was concluded April 8, 1866. Italy stipulated to support Prussia with military force in her plan to reform the German Constitution, and Prussia stipulated to procure for Italy the cession of

Three Months' Alliance between Prussia and Italy, April 18, 1866.

Venetia. So Italy armed against Austria in the south, and Prussia armed against her in the north. Immediately after the treaty, a council of ministers had been held at Berlin (February 28, 1866), presided over by the king, at which were present General von Moltke, chief of the general staff; General von Manteuffel, Governor of Schleswig; Count von der Goltz, Prussian Minister in Paris, and the distinguished Italian General Govoni. The Emperor of Austria, on his part, called a war council, at which, among others, Field-marshal Benedek assisted.

What caused Austria to undertake this war.

The quarrel already mentioned between Bismarck and the Prussian Chambers on the subject of the military organization and the consequent dissolution of the Chambers by the king, the intense unpopularity of Bismarck in Prussia, and a certain want of acquaintance in Vienna with the state of the Prussian army which had been carried almost to perfection (the needle-gun), encouraged Austria to believe that she could reap out of the war not only political and military power and glory, but financial advantages. Heavy contributions and much-needed war expenses could be extorted from an enemy who had been so humiliated in 1850, and who might be so again in 1866. She, moreover, hoped to bring to a definitive conclusion the old quarrel, which had lasted more than two hundred years, and to put Prussia out of the way altogether.

What led Prussia into this war?

What led Prussia into this war? The necessity of defending herself against the plan of Austria to force her way into the Germanic Confederation as master, with all her non-German provinces, whose interests were so different from, and even contrary to, those of Germany. Moreover, by the proposed Austrian plan, Protestantism would be

weakened in North Germany; lastly, the German people had always desired to terminate the Germany of the Congress of Vienna—the Germany of Alexander, of Francis, of Metternich, and Talleyrand; they desired a united Germany which, with Austria, was impossible. The demand of Austria that her *protégé*, the Prince of Augustenburg, should receive the Elb duchies as an independent sovereign, was only a pretext.

After the treaty with Italy.

The treaty with Italy concluded, Prussia proceeded to action. Bismarck proposed the convocation of a German Parliament, to be elected direct by the people, for the purpose of considering the reforms necessary in the German constitution. This Austria refused. Saxony and Würtemberg began to arm. Saxony armed more openly than the other small States, and proposed in the Bundestag the resolution that Prussia be requested to give explanations as to her military preparations. The negotiations at this time were curious. In reply to an inquiry from Prussia, Austria declared she had no intention to prepare for war. The military movements in Bohemia and Silesia had been called forth by certain disturbances among her Jewish population. Prussia courteously replied, nothing was further from her thought than to attack Austria, and expressed herself ready to withdraw her troops from the frontier; but Austria, who had armed first, must first disarm. Austria replied, she would disarm first, on the promise of Prussia to disarm the following day. To this Prussia agreed, and a time was fixed. But before that day arrived, Austria was surprised by military movements of the Italian government on the Venetian frontier. This rendered a complete disarmament on the part of Austria out of the question. Prussia, as the ally of Italy, could not acqui-

esce in a partial disarmament. Austria now proposed that the joint rights of the two German governments to the Elb duchies should be surrendered to that claimant producing the best proof of his right; the question to be decided by the Bundestag. In case of refusal, Austria declared her determination to submit the whole Schleswig-Holstein question to the Bundestag, and at the same time to convoke the Schleswig-Holstein estates, that the voice of the duchies themselves might be heard. Prussia refused to submit the question to the Bundestag. She was willing to negotiate with Austria, and also to act jointly with her in reforming the German constitution; but the first step of Austria must be to place her army on a peace footing, and to effect a disarmament of her German allies.

Attempt to assassinate Bismarck, May 6, 1866.

The writer of these lines passing one day along the Linden, in Berlin (May 6, 1866), found an agitated crowd almost at his door, and was informed that a student had that minute discharged five barrels of a revolver in succession at the breast of Bismarck, without wounding him. The smoke and powder smell were still in the air, and the excited people were pointing out to each other the impression of one of the bullets upon a post. The assassin was a young man, Karl Blind, son of an old revolutionist. The boy, like Karl Sand, seems to have been previously of a blameless life. To one crime, he immediately added another by committing suicide in prison.

Breaking out of the war.

Austria now surrendered the Schleswig-Holstein affair to the Bundestag, and evacuated Holstein. Bismarck pronounced this a violation of the Gastein convention, and sent Prussian troops into Holstein.

In reply, Austria appealed to the old Bundestag, accused Prussia of violating the Act of Confederation of 1815, and demanded the mobilization of the whole German army. The Prussian representative notified the Assembly that the passing of this resolution would be considered a declaration of war. The resolution was nevertheless passed. Upon this, Prussia declared the Bundestag dissolved. Thus that rickety, unseaworthy old ship, in these turbulent, conflicting waters, went down at last.

Final dissolution of the old Bundestag, June 14, 1866.

With Austria were Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony, Hanover, Baden, Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-Darmstadt, Nassau, and the free city of Frankfort. The only ally of Prussia was Italy. Napoleon III., still "harping" on annexations, was ready to take part with or against either of the contending parties, as his interest might require.

Parties in the war.

The nation did not generally, at first, understand the war, or believe in its success. The country seemed sinking into ruin. There was a universal suspension of business. Rents came down; poverty stared many in the face who had till now lived in affluence. Immense numbers of workmen were without employment. Families with tears and sobs beheld fathers, brothers, sons, lovers, departing for the battle-field. Bismarck was pointed at as the guilty cause; as a crazy gambler, or a designing traitor. Addresses, petitions, clubs, newspapers, demanded the dismissal of the bungling Minister, who had dragged the country into a bloody civil war. He bore this trial as patiently as the ship bears the spray.

State of Germany at the outbreak of the war.

There was a general break-up of parties. The most

opposite elements joined from hatred to Prussia. The revolutionary flag of Germany, black, red, and gold, floated once more beside the double eagle of Austria. A part of the democrats hated Prussia because she had not only suppressed the revolution, but she was building up a strong representative Germany. The Jacobins wanted a weak Germany of their own construction. The smaller States wanted to retain their sovereign power. Austria thus attracted to herself not only all the traditional supporters of the House of Hapsburg, the old Roman Catholic party, and all the reactionary elements of Germany, and even of Prussia, but all the revolutionary elements, not to speak of foreign governments, who were afraid of a great constitutional Germany, under the leading of Prussia. Events followed with rapidity, and as Bismarck's daring gigantic purpose gradually broke upon the people, public opinion began to change. The Minister-President was in fact bearing Prussia through an inevitable crisis. He was lifting her up to a higher place among the powers. He had chosen the right moment to fight a battle which had got to be fought at one time or another. Austria and Prussia could not both remain in Germany. It was necessary that Austria should not be in Germany at all. What kind of voyage would a ship make with two commanders, one bent upon steering east, the other west? The more sensible portion of the old Prussian democratic party came out at last in favor of the war. Prussia had a constitutional system which never would, and never could, be taken back. Could national unity be better obtained than by cutting wholly free from Austria, and rallying around the constitutional well-organized Prussia, armed for battle? And when it became clear that Bismarck was attempting to wipe out

the stain which Austria had inflicted in 1850, the nation looked on with increasing approbation.

It was important for Prussia to give no pretext to France for acting against her. She, therefore, revived the old line of demarkation between North and South Germany which France and Prussia had agreed upon in the Treaty of Basel (April, 1795), namely, the River Main. The States south of this line were Baden, Würtemberg, and Bavaria. To the States north of this line who had taken part with the Bundestag, namely, Hanover, Saxony, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, etc., the Prussian Cabinet addressed a note (June 15, 1866), and gave them twenty-four hours to answer. The three princes who had mobilized, were requested to demobilize their armies and to join the new North German Bund. In case of acquiescence, the note promised that their territories and sovereignties should not be disturbed. A refusal would be regarded as a declaration of war. They were not asked to join Prussia in the war, but only to remain neutral. The three princes gave a negative answer. Their territories were immediately occupied by Prussian troops.

Plan of Prussia.

Generals Benedek and Clam-Gallas, commanders-in-chief of the Austrian army, were certain of success. Their plan was to carry the war into Prussia, take possession of Berlin, and there dictate a peace which would terminate forever all ideas of Prussian supremacy. Silesia restored to Austria; Prussian Saxony to Saxony; Schleswig-Holstein to Denmark; King William of Prussia to be deprived of his royal title and reduced again to a Margrave of Brandenburg, after paying sufficient contributions and war expenses to extricate Austria from all her financial difficulties—these

The war.

were among the objects proposed by the Austrian field-marshals. This was the vision which had floated before the eyes of Prince Schwarzenberg.

Campaign of Prussia.

Prussia moved with unexpected rapidity. Her forces advanced in three divisions. A first Silesian army, under Prince Friedrich Karl, formed the center. This had been stationed near Goerlitz, on the frontier between Silesia and Bohemia. A second Silesian army, under the Crown-prince, formed the left wing. A third division, the Elb-army, under General Herwarth von Bittenfeld, formed the right wing. This had advanced between Halle and Torgau, on the frontier of Saxony, ready, at the proper moment, to spring upon that kingdom, and afterward to pass to the chief battle-ground, Bohemia. A fourth division, called the west army, under Vogel von Falkenstein, covered Westphalia and the Rhenish province, and operated against Hanover, Hesse, and Nassau. To the west army belonged the divisions of the Generals von Goeben, Beier, and Manteuffel. All these forces and their separate commanders were moving under the orders of one great soldier, who, from his Cabinet in Berlin, planned and watched the execution of every movement. This man was Field-marshal Moltke, chief of the general staff of the Prussian army. At his side Von Roon, the able War Minister; Bismarck, the great statesman whose policy had set the vast armies in motion, and King William, the center of all, who had chosen these men and clothed them with authority, and maintained them in their places in the darkest hour of danger, and when the country was most against it.

The King of Prussia now issued a proclamation to the German people: "The country was in danger. He had

called out the entire military power of Prussia to protect the threatened independence of the nation, and to secure to Germany a freer development. 'The degradation of Prussia!' was the battle-cry of the Austrian army. The struggle was for life and death!"

Proclamation of King William, June 15, 1866.

General Herwarth von Bittenfeld occupied Saxony. The Saxon flag floated only upon the Fortress of Königstein, where had been deposited the treasures and valuables of the government. The Saxon government was administered by Prussian commissioners with mildness and generosity. The Saxon army had evacuated the kingdom, accompanied by the king, John. The Crown-prince Albert and the Minister von Beust joined the Austrian army in Bohemia. In the great battle of Königgrätz, be it here said in advance, they fought with courage.

Saxony, June 16.

Hesse-Cassel was occupied by General von Beier (June 23). The garrison had retreated and joined the enemy. The Elector of Hesse-Cassel remained at his magnificent palace, Wilhelmshohe. He was taken prisoner and conducted to the old palace of the Pomeranian dukes, near Stettin.

Hesse-Cassel, June 23.

Hanover was occupied by Generals Vogel von Falkenstein, and Manteuffel. The king (blind) and the crown-prince had retreated with an army of nineteen thousand men. These troops came into conflict with a part of Falkenstein's division, under General Fliess, at Langensalza (Erfurt). The Hanoverians fought with fury and gained a victory, but quite a useless one. They were surrounded by Prussian troops, capitulated, surrendered their arms, and returned home. The officers were permitted to retain their

Hanover, June 18-27.

swords on condition that they would not take further part in the war. The King of Hanover and the crown-prince fled to Austria. The queen remained quietly in Hanover, under the protection of the Prussians. The smaller States had expected to unite their forces, and thus to be able to maintain themselves against the enemy, until they could share in the advantages of a great Austrian victory; but Prussia was too quick for them.

The War in Bohemia.

While Benedek, counting upon the co-operation of the smaller German States, was preparing to pour his immense army into Prussia, King William, accompanied by Bismarck, Moltke, and Roon, appeared in Bohemia with the three great divisions of the Prussian army, cutting their way through every opposition. Many fierce and bloody conflicts took place, in which the Austrians were nearly always defeated. In some of these smaller towns, frightful horrors occurred. The inhabitants joined in the battle, sometimes in the night; fired from the windows and house roofs, pelted the troops with stones and bricks, and poured down upon them boiling water and oil. The infuriated soldiers crowded together in the narrow streets and alleys, broke into the houses, and massacred every one they met. At day-break, the streets in the town of Gitschin, for instance, were filled with dead bodies and flowing blood.

Battle of Königgrätz (Sadowa), July 3, 1866.

The Austrians, under Benedek, had now concentrated the main body of their army, two hundred and twenty thousand strong, at Königgrätz and Sadowa, on the Elbe. King William now took the command in person. The Prussians were only two hundred and fifteen thousand strong. The combatants were greater in number than in the battle of Leipsic, 1813. A broad plain favored the evolutions of

both armies; but some heights afforded the Austrians advantageous positions. The Prussians, although inferior in number, were superior in discipline, energy, and intelligence. The morning was foggy and wet. The victory at first inclined toward the Austrians. King William appeared on the field at nine in the morning, in command of the troops. The Austrian artillery did terrible execution. The Prussians seemed lost, when the crown-prince, who with energy and resolution worthy of Blücher, had forced the advance of his troops through the passes of the Riesengebirge, reached the field at noon and turned the scales. One of the Austrian positions, taken and lost seven times, remained at last in the hands of the Prussians. The Austrian batteries were stormed, one after another. At three, the battle was over. Benedek withdrew, first with some attempt at order, but before long the retreat became a disastrous flight. Thirty thousand Austrians and ten thousand Prussians lay upon the field, dead or wounded. One of the great questions of our day, in the words of Bismarck, had been decided; *not by speeches and majorities, but by blood and iron.* The king, accompanied by Bismarck, rode over the field after the victory, amid deafening shouts. He met the crown-prince and offered to him the Order of Merit. The prince, with conscientious modesty and genuine good sense, refused the order unless it were bestowed also upon the chief of his staff, General von Blumenthal. Eleven flags, one hundred and seventy-four cannon, eighteen thousand prisoners, besides the wounded, remained with the Prussians. The army immediately moved forward. Prague was taken July 8; Brunn and the famous Olmütz, July 15. The Prussians encamped within twelve miles of Vienna.

The battle of Königgrätz was the real answer to the dispatch of Prince Schwarzenberg, sixteen years before. We are astonished at the rapidity with which the war was concluded. In about fourteen days, the power of Austria in Germany was annihilated. The actual fighting lasted only seven days.

Peace of Prague, Aug. 23, 1866.

Austria was as humbled as Denmark had been. By the Peace of Prague between Prussia and Austria, the latter recognized the dissolution of the old German Confederation, that is, of the second Germany; agreed to the reorganization of Germany without Austria; recognized in advance all the changes of territory which Prussia might find necessary in the north of Germany; surrendered to Prussia all the right of Austria to Schleswig-Holstein; paid twenty million thalers war expenses, and agreed to the demand of Prussia that Venice should be ceded, through Napoleon, to Italy. Prussia agreed that the Kingdom of Saxony should retain her present territorial form and rank as member of the North German Bund. Saxony owed her exemption to the influence of Austria and France, and to her geographical position. The other allies of Austria subsequently concluded separate treaties of peace.

Schleswig-Holstein, the Kingdom of Hanover, the Electorate of Hesse-Cassel, the Duchy of Nassau, the Margraviate of Hesse-Homburg, and the free city of Frankfort, were incorporated into Prussia.

Italy during and after the war.

Austria had inflicted upon Italy various injuries. She had refused to recognize the new kingdom, and she still held the noblest Italian province, Venetia. At the moment when Prussia advanced with her entire military force, Italy had also declared war against Austria. Victor Emmanuel

would have been completely unsuccessful in the war, had not Austria required all her troops to operate against Prussia. The treaty with Italy was another masterly move of Bismarck. By it, Germany acquired independence, and Italy that "freedom to the Adriatic," which Napoleon III. had promised, but not given.

It is curious to remark the connection of events. Had Austria not received the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom from the Congress of Vienna, she would possibly have been victor in the war of 1866, and now at the head of the German Empire, and of nearly all Europe. It was the alliance of Prussia with Italy which turned the scale.

Napoleon III. offered his mediation, which was accepted. By the treaty of peace with Italy, Austria abandoned all claim to Venice, and recognized the new Kingdom of Italy.

Peace between Italy and Austria, October 3, 1866.

There were circumstances which rendered the annexation of the duchies almost unavoidable. Prussia could not allow them to fall into the hands of Denmark, or Austria, or of the Prince of Augustenburg, under Austria. She did not desire to have an enemy on the north as well as on the south. The duchies had a debt which they could not pay, were unable to defend themselves, and must fall under the dominion either of Denmark, Austria, or Prussia.

What right had Prussia to annex Schleswig-Holstein?

Whatever injustice may have been inflicted upon the family of the Duke of Augustenburg, it was redressed by the marriage of the duke's daughter, the Princess Augusta Victoria of Schleswig-Holstein, to the Prince William of Prussia, grandson of the Emperor William, and son of the Crown-prince of Prussia and Germany. This poetical *denouement* of the Schleswig-Holstein question was cele-

brated in the royal palace at Berlin, February 27, 1881. By it, the daughter of the duke has now become Duchess of Schleswig-Holstein, and still more, Queen of Prussia and Empress of Germany.

South German States.

After the war, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, and Hesse-Darmstadt, made separate treaties; paid for war expenses an aggregate sum of about twenty-five million thalers, and formed a union with each other, under the name of the South German States. Bismarck might have demanded from them large cessions of territory; and the fear that he would do so, induced them to ask the intervention of Napoleon. There was here danger of a French alliance, from which Bismarck saved Germany. He wholly detached the Southern States from Napoleon, by confidentially revealing the secret territorial plans of the Emperor, and by promising that they should not suffer any loss of territory either by France or Prussia. The result was a secret offensive and defensive alliance between Prussia and those States, in which the latter stipulated that in case of a defensive war they would place their troops under the command of the King of Prussia.

Germany had not obtained the long desired union. She was now separated into three fragments, the North German Bund, the South German States, and the German population (nine millions) still remaining in Austria. It required a great world event again to force even the two first mentioned disunited fragments together.

First Reichstag of the North German Bund, Feb. 24, 1867.

At the earliest moment, a Reichstag of the North German Bund was elected by direct universal suffrage; Count Bismarck appointed Chancellor. The flag of this Bund (red added to the old Prussian flag, white and

black) heralded the advance of a new German Empire, and it is curious to remark how the complicated events which we have been describing gradually and steadily combined to promote its growth.

Austria, except in the case of Saxony, had not behaved wisely to her allies, having left them after the war to shift for themselves.

Austria.

Thus excluded from Germany, Austria reconstructed her shattered Empire under the name of Austria-Hungary. *Austria*, an Empire with a Slavonian-German group, and a Ministry and Imperial Council at Vienna; *Hungary*, a constitutional kingdom, with a Hungarian Ministry and Parliament at Ofen-Pesth. The Emperor of Austria always King of Hungary.

Saxony.

The sovereignty of Saxony had been guaranteed. After the war, she joined the North German Bund, having paid ten million thalers for war expenses. The administration of her military diplomatic affairs, post, and telegraph, were partly ceded to Prussia.

Beust.

Beust, who had favored the restoration of the old Bundestag, and the complete Austrian reaction, after 1866, found his position in Saxony, as first Minister, impossible. The Emperor of Austria, therefore, appointed him (October, 1866) Minister of Foreign Affairs, and soon after, Chancellor of the Empire.

Prussia.

The joyful emotion in Prussia, occasioned by the victory of Königgrätz, was as great as that which followed the battles of Leipsic and Waterloo. Prussia, from an area of five thousand and sixty-eight German square miles, had been increased to six thousand three hundred and ninety-three, and from a

population of nineteen millions to twenty-three and a half millions. She had become the undisputed master of Germany. Like his ancestor, the Great Elector of Brandenburg, the king had triumphed over all obstacles, and had acquired the affection of his people. The change of opinion with regard to Bismarck had now become complete. The nation forgot all hatred and ridicule of that narrow-minded Junker, and recognized in the object of their former witticisms, a great statesman, and a true and resolute friend of the fatherland.

A new Abgeordnetenhaus was elected, in which the government had an overwhelming majority. In his opening speech, the king declared: "*He acknowledged that the State expenditure, during the last period, had been raised in violation of the constitution, but that he hoped the representatives of the nation would pass an act of indemnity.*" The speech was received with acclamations. The act (September 3) was immediately passed by an immense majority. The reconciliation of the government and the nation was then complete.

Napoleon III. and the war of 1866.

The war of 1866 was not only an answer to the threats of Austria, but to the intrigues of Napoleon. After his *coup d'état*, the Emperor had soon discovered that it was not an easy matter to govern France. The nation pressed for an extension of rights, and equally afraid to acquiesce and to refuse, he endeavored to divert public attention by his administration of foreign affairs. His great idea was to annex new provinces, and thus create the belief that he was raising France to the position which she had occupied under Napoleon I. He had already annexed Savoy and Nice, and successfully conducted the Russian and Italian wars. His intention was next to humble

Prussia, and bring Germany under his influence. War, however, had been found an expensive entertainment, and not without danger. He determined, therefore, first, to try the cheaper field of diplomacy, and here he hoped to use Bismarck as his instrument. By means of the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Drouyn de l'Huys, and the French Minister at Berlin, Count Benedetti, he had opened the secret negotiation, already mentioned, with Bismarck, for the annexation of Belgium and other territories. He saw Prussia drifting into an immense conflict with Austria, and his offer to Bismarck, in plain English, was as follows: "I will stand by you in your war against Austria, and in case of need render assistance, on condition that you will allow me to annex Belgium and the Prussian province west of the Rhine, etc. If not, I will join Austria, and declare war against you."

Prussia was not then ready for war, but she did not mean to be an accomplice in Napoleon's plans. Bismarck, therefore, could neither accept nor reject them; but fully comprehending his opponent's character, *sentant son renard d'une lieue*,* refrained from disturbing his belief that at the proper time, if he would only wait patiently, he might come into possession of Belgium, Rhenish Bavaria, Hesse-Darmstadt, the fortress of Mayence, perhaps even the Prussian Rhine province, with the so-long-coveted Rhine for a frontier. All he had to do was to wait till the king could be brought round, and till the new constitution of Prussia should settle firmly on its foundation. For several years, Bismarck thus staved off the war which Napoleon would undoubtedly have launched against Prussia in her weakest hour, had he not supposed he could better succeed by waiting. His

* Smelling his fox a mile off.

determination was to advance the French frontier. If Prussia would not consent amicably, she should be forced. Bismarck, however, took the greatest care not to commit himself. Whatever encouragement Napoleon or Benedetti might have received, they had not procured Bismarck's signature to any promise.

Napoleon had thus looked to the war of 1866 for diplomatic victories more substantial than those of Malakoff and Solferino. He had, no doubt, the power to prevent the war; but this he did not wish to do. He wished Austria and Prussia to enter upon a long and mutually ruinous struggle that, when they were both exhausted, he could, like Louis XIV., become an arbiter in Europe, and in some degree, liege lord of Germany. He could, at one period, have crushed Prussia by joining Austria; but he wished to see both the belligerent parties weakened. On June 11, 1866, he accordingly addressed instructions to Drouyn de l'Huys, recommending an "attentive neutrality," and expressing his ideas as to the form in which Germany should be reconstructed after the war:

I. Prussia to be strengthened in North Germany.

II. Austria to remain in the predominant position which she had already occupied in the Confederation.

III. The smaller German States to unite in a stronger organization (that is, he wanted Germany cut up into three different antagonistic powers)

Königgrätz was almost as great a defeat to him as to Austria. With rage and consternation, he beheld the war ended, when he thought it not yet fairly commenced. Prussia had risen to a military pre-eminence which it had been his endeavor to secure exclusively for France. He had hoped to draw the South German States into his

own interest, and even into an alliance, if not into a new Confederation of the Rhine. By a single battle, he saw those States entirely in the power and interest of Prussia. He had hoped to paralyze Germany: instead of this, he had assisted in raising up a new Germany, far stronger than her predecessor, and which seemed destined to become a world Empire as great as that of Charlemagne or Charles V. Again he had cherished great hopes from his intrigues in Italy. He had proclaimed freedom to the Adriatic, only to obtain Savoy and Rome, and try his hand at the scepter of the Cæsars. He had sent French troops to Rome, and held the "Eternal City" to the last possible moment. Had his other plan succeeded, had Germany been wrecked in the war of 1866, in imitation of the old German Emperors, he would, perhaps, have placed a Pope of his own, a Bonaparte, in the papal chair. While deceiving Italy with a promise of freedom to the Adriatic, he was protecting the Pope as a wall against Italy. His object was to prevent both Italy and Germany from obtaining real freedom and unity. He made another blunder immediately after the war. He demanded the rectification of the French frontier; that is, the annexation to France of portions of Western Germany, as a counterpoise to the increase of Prussian territory. His demand was refused. He failed not only in his attempt to "rectify" his frontier, but in his attempt to form an alliance with the Southern States. He saw, on the contrary, those States in the already mentioned offensive and defensive alliance with Prussia. The war had thus disappointed his ambition, injured his fame, placed France in an unfavorable position, and deeply wounded the pride of the French nation.

Thus was laid the train which kindled the war of

1870. But there were other causes. A war, like a river, does not flow in a single rivulet out of the earth, but results from different sources, which at last unite in one stream. In order to understand some of these other causes, we must now glance back to the birth of Napoleon III., and see who and what the man was who was about to spring a war upon Prussia just as he had sprung one upon Austria.

CHAPTER XXIX.

NAPOLEON III. TILL THE WAR OF 1870.

LOUIS BONAPARTE, King of Holland, at the command of his brother, the Emperor Napoleon I., had married Hortense, daughter of Josephine; but having quarreled with Napoleon, he abdicated (July 1, 1810), and lived as a private gentleman, under the name of Count St. Leu, in Rome, Florence, etc. After the birth of their first son, called Napoleon, the royal pair did not live together. The Emperor, anxious to consolidate his own dynasty by securing in every contingency an heir to the throne, had, in case he himself should die without issue, fixed the succession in the line of his brother Louis (*senatus-consultum*, 1804). After this decree, the Queen Hortense gave birth to her second son, Louis Napoleon, subsequently Napoleon III. (born in the Tuileries, April 20, 1808). The Emperor and Josephine were sponsors at the baptism. King Louis would not acknowledge the child, till compelled by an order of the Emperor. Thus, at that time, the legal heir to the throne was King Louis' eldest son Napoleon, and next to him, Louis Napoleon.

Louis Napoleon, born April 20, 1808.

After the downfall of Napoleon I., the two young brothers became political adventurers and members of secret societies, bent on promoting any revolution which might enable them to ascend the French throne. In 1831, these secret

After the downfall of Napoleon I., 1815.

societies caused an insurrection in Italy (Gregory XVI.), which was suppressed. Louis Napoleon and his brother were banished. Louis Philippe, then just raised to the throne, refused them permission to enter France. The elder brother, Napoleon, soon died. In 1832, the young Duke de Reichstadt (the first Emperor Napoleon's son by Marie Louise) also died. The duke had been sole successor to the Imperial French throne in a direct line. Louis Napoleon thus considered himself the legal representative of the house of Napoleon. He was kind-hearted, with many excellent qualities, and generally esteemed by his friends. It has been said of him, and no doubt with truth, that he would not hurt a fly if he could help it. He looked upon the French throne as his property, and the acquisition of it gradually grew into a fixed idea. As he was without religious faith or moral principle, his ambition strengthened into a kind of monomania; the Imperial crown became the dream of his life; the star of his destiny; the god of his worship. It is interesting to observe how events, as if shaped by the witches of Macbeth, invited him to advance on his way, and became the

> "Happy prologues to the swelling act
> Of the Imperial theme";

how his brother Napoleon died; how the Duke de Reichstadt died; how the corruption of Louis Philippe's government encouraged the Strassburg attempt; how the revolution of 1848 brought him to France; how the adventurer from the barricades at Rome mounted step by step the ascent to power; was elected member of the French National Assembly; and President of the Republic; how his airy vision became a grand reality; how, amid the shouts of the people, he really entered the so-

long-dreamed-of Tuileries as Emperor; how he climbed still higher, and, at last, for a moment, almost to the highest point of human greatness; how he humbled Russia and Austria; freed Italy; knocked down the great wall of China; and sought to bring beneath his influence, if not actually to overthrow, the Republic of the United States; and how all these successes were but the deceitful lures of juggling fiends

> "That palter with us in a double sense;
> That keep the word of promise to our ear,
> And break it to our hope."

His election as President (December 10, 1848), we have already mentioned. That election, by which the French people seemed to put aside not only socialism and communism, but the pure republic, gave him some reason to believe that France wished an Emperor.

His oath.

On his first appearance in the National Assembly, after the election (December 20, 1848), the new President took the oath (already referred to) of fidelity to the republic. Solemnly lifting his right arm toward heaven, he declared: "In the presence of God and before the French people, represented by the National Assembly, I swear to remain faithful to the democratic republic, one and indivisible, and to fulfill all the duties which the constitution imposes upon me."

Then stepping forward, he voluntarily read from a paper the following words: "The votes of the nation, and the oath which I have just taken, command my future conduct. My duty is clear; I will fulfill it as a man of honor. I shall regard as enemies of the country all who endeavor to change by illegal means that which all France has established."

He had been elected for four years. His legal term closed, December 20, 1852.

Changarnier.

One of the President's first acts was the appointment of Changarnier, an upright and noble soldier, Commander-in-chief of the National Guard.

French troops suppress the revolution in Rome.

Pius IX. had been raised to the pontifical chair, June, 1846. His liberal reforms had, in some degree, originated the revolutionary movements of 1848. The consequences, however, soon frightened him back into the reaction. In the struggle of Italy with Austria, the Pope sided with the latter. A revolution broke out in Rome. One of the Pope's ministers, Count Rossi, was assassinated at the door of the council chamber. The Holy Father was besieged in the Quirinal, fled in disguise to Gaeta (Naples), and there called upon the Catholic powers for assistance. The revolutionary government of Rome (Mazzini, Saffi, Armellini, Garibaldi) deposed him and proclaimed a republic. On April 25, 1849, Louis Napoleon, who had then been President four months, sent a French army under Baraguay d'Hilliers and Oudinot, besieged, and took Rome. The Pope was reinstated, and the French troops remained to maintain him. Deep were the curses which this intervention in Roman affairs brought upon Louis Napoleon from the revolutionary party.

New Legislative Assembly.

The Constituent Assembly, having completed a constitution and dissolved itself, a new Legislative Assembly had been elected in its place by universal suffrage. The Legitimists, the Orleanists, the Bonapartists, the socialists, had taken active part in the election. The new Assembly met (May 28), and showed a royalist party, and also a socialist

party. The latter immediately protested against the Roman intervention. Ledru-Rollin offered a resolution to impeach the President. Rejected, three hundred and seventy-seven against eight. The feeble party of the Left, as usual, looked for support outside of the Assembly, and an insurrection was attempted. It was easily suppressed by Changarnier; and the leaders, Ledru-Rollin, Considérant, Felix Piat, Etienne Arago, etc., saved themselves by flight. The President's power was thus strengthened, and he proceeded more boldly to place the government in the hands of Bonapartists. Thus, the republican element had no sooner overthrown Charles X. and Louis Philippe, than it found itself caught in the snare of Louis Napoleon, a man far more formidable than either.

Law of universal suffrage withdrawn.

The law of universal suffrage was withdrawn and another substituted, the number of voters being reduced from nine million to six million. The President began to assume the demeanor of an Emperor.

Why did he cause to be canceled the law of universal suffrage? In order that he might have something to give back to the people during his intended *coup d'état*.

Breach between President and Assembly, 1850.

The President now asked that his salary might be raised to three million six hundred thousand francs. The Assembly raised it, but only to two million one hundred and sixty thousand. On August 9, the President adjourned that body for three months. Before separating, it appointed a committee of twenty-five to watch the increasing strength of the Bonapartists.

Louis Philippe died August 20, 1850, in England. Great public demonstrations of the Legitimists and Orleanists followed. The Count de Chambord, at Wiesbaden,

and the Duchess d'Orleans, at Clairmont, in England, were ostentatiously visited by their prominent supporters, and each encouraged in the hope that the approaching end of Louis Napoleon's term would open a way to the throne. To these demonstrations, the President replied by a journey through the principal part of France, delivering speeches indicating that the country was in danger, and that it might become necessary to prolong his term of office in order to save France from revolution. It was, however, more necessary for himself personally than for France; for he was loaded with debts, and had he not mounted to the throne, he would, probably, at the end of his term, have descended to a debtor's jail.

Louis Philippe dies, August 20, 1850.

He now began a course of sumptuous banquets to the different regiments, one after another, in and near Paris. The common soldiers were feasted with rich food and wine; and many flattering speeches awakened enthusiasm for the person of the President and the glorious name he bore. These feasts and other artifices to win the army became more frequent and bold, as the hour approached. The troops were also furnished with money.

Banquets to the army.

A broad system of removals gradually swept from the public offices all persons suspected of opposition or indifference, and substituted personal friends, or men known as Napoleonists.

Removals from office.

After his election, the President had, directly or indirectly, made proposals to the principal military leaders and statesmen, inviting them to aid in transforming the precarious republican government into one more stable. The President's antecedents and supposed character had

Attempt to revive the Empire without a bloody coup d'état.

not inspired sufficient confidence to secure associates in such an enterprise. The Parisians could not easily forget Strassburg and Boulogne. He now applied to Changarnier, who also declined.

After about three months' vacation, the Legislative Assembly met again. On this occasion, the President addressed to them the following speech:

Speech of the President, November 2, 1850.

"He considered," he said, "as great criminals, those who, by personal ambition, compromised the small amount of stability secured by the constitution . . . . that if the constitution contained defects and dangers, the Assembly was competent to expose them to the eyes of the country; but that he alone, bound by his oath, restrained himself within the strict limits traced by that act. The first duty of magistrates was to inspire the people with respect for the law by never deviating from it themselves, and his anxiety was not to know who would govern France in 1852, but to employ the time at his disposal so that the transition, whatever it might be, should be effected without agitation or disturbance; for," said he (with a dignity which recalls Joseph Surface), "the noblest object, and the most worthy of an exalted mind is, not to seek when in power how to perpetuate it, but to labor assiduously to fortify, for the benefit of all, those principles of authority and morality which defy the passions of mankind and the instability of laws."

This speech is one of a great number in which, during the period of his administration, the President protested his loyalty and the absence of all plans and ideas irreconcilable with his duty. His friends declare that, when spoken, these were the true expressions of his fluctuating

mind; that he was secretly struggling against the great temptation, and that, at these moments, he tried to fortify himself by publicly uttering the resolutions he was forming. But when we examine how he was actually engaged at the very moment when he delivered the above-quoted speech, and how steadily his mind and plans, from the beginning, were fixed upon the throne, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that, even if, in the earlier period of his Presidency, he had in any way fluctuated, yet, in the last year, these speeches were continued merely to disguise the plan which broadened and blackened as it approached, and which was finally executed. He does not appear to have ever wavered in his plan, but only as to the mode of executing it; and then he shrunk back, less from the sin than the danger.

Anniversary of his election, December 10, 1850.

At the close of 1850, he caused the anniversary of his election as President to be celebrated by a particularly brilliant banquet at the Hôtel de Ville. On this occasion, he distributed large sums to the poor.

Changarnier dismissed, January 4, 1851.

In about two months after the above-quoted speech, the President remodeled his Cabinet, removing every person upon whose devotion he could not count. On this occasion, General Changarnier was dismissed.

General Perrot.

The great conspiracy was now gradually organized; but the President was afraid, on dismissing Changarnier, to appoint one of his own creatures directly, so General Perrot (a man of honor) was named his successor.

Baraguay d'Hilliers.

At the same time, the chief command of the first military division of the army was given to General Baraguay d'Hilliers, a devoted Bona-

partist, who had led the French army to restore Pope Pius IX. at Rome.

During this year, Paris and all France were flooded with pamphlets complaining that the President's plan to elevate the nation and ameliorate the condition of the poorer classes was defeated by the Assembly. The President set on foot an agitation for the purpose of compelling the Assembly to prolong his term of office, but failed. A request that an addition of one million eight hundred thousand francs might be made to his salary was rejected.

Intrigues against the Assembly.

The military force in and about Paris was increased by new regiments, trained for the purpose and eagerly waiting the moment. In August, quantities of gunpowder were brought into the town, and the fortifications were placed in good condition. The efforts to win the army were scarcely concealed. Reviews and feasts were more frequent in the military camp, Satory, near Paris.

New regiments brought to Paris.

A trick was now played to increase the unpopularity of the Assembly. The President introduced a bill bestowing universal suffrage.

A trick of the President.

On October 26, 1851, more bold changes were made in the Cabinet and other public offices. General St. Arnaud appeared in the Cabinet, as Minister of War. Maupas, sometimes called "de Maupas," was appointed Minister of Police, and General Magnan, under St. Arnaud, commander of the whole military force of the city. Little did the gay Parisians suspect the dark meaning of these appointments. The quarrel with the Assembly increased. More regiments were ordered into Paris. The

Conspirators appointed to office, October 26, 1851.

law to restore universal suffrage was now laid before the Assembly; but that body, alarmed by the indications of an approaching *coup d'état*, instead of discussing the subject, took up a resolution as to the best mode of protecting itself against the power of the President.

Military levee of the President, November 13, 1851.

In reply, the President held a levee in the Elysée Palace, at which two thousand officers, including nine generals, paid their respects, and assured him of their fidelity.

Universal suffrage rejected.

The proposed law for universal suffrage was rejected by the Assembly.

The proposition to invest the Assembly with a right to call out the military force, was now rejected. The fact that such an attempt had been made was successfully used by the President and the military officers to increase the rage of the troops against the Assembly and the civilians of Paris.

Attempt of the Assembly to gain control over the army.

At this moment, the faubourgs were under the influence of revolutionary clubs and secret societies, equally hating the Assembly, the President, and the wealthy classes; but in no condition to maintain a conflict.

State of Paris.

The army consisted of forty-eight thousand splendid troops.

General Perrot, Commander-in-chief of the National Guard, was now to be got rid of. All the prefectures of France were in the hands of the conspirators. St. Arnaud held the entire military force of the nation, and Maupas wielded that terrible machine, the police; Magnan, commander-in-chief of all the forces in Paris. These three men were, body and soul, bought creatures of the President. General Perrot suspected

Perrot.

nothing of all this. He was such an esteemed person, that the President did not even now venture directly to dismiss him. The time for blowing brains out and carrying away troublesome generals and statesmen in convict vans, had not yet come. The President appointed a disreputable man chief of the staff of the National Guard. General Perrot, who did not suspect the object, and was accustomed to associate only with gentlemen, resigned his important office, November 30, 1851. The command of the National Guard was given to General Lawaestine, who subsequently executed his task without asking questions; caused the drums to be destroyed, preventing the National Guard from being called together, and thus held back the force under his command from interfering with the bloody work of his superiors.

Bank of France robbed.

In the last days of November, the President succeeded in borrowing twenty-five million francs from the Bank of France, on the condition that it should not be used against the State.

The conspiracy.

The President might naturally think it not criminal to follow the example of his illustrious uncle, and transform the rickety government into one more in accordance with the public wish. He had tried in vain to do this by the aid of noble and good men. He now determined to resort to bad men. It appears probable, from his constitutional unsteadiness of purpose and want of nerve in the moment of action, that he never would have proceeded to the accomplishment of the *coup d'état*, as it was finally executed, had he not imprudently committed himself to associates who, he ought to have foreseen, must eventually become his masters. In their greed for gold and power, they, no doubt, dragged him further than he would have had the

courage (let us mercifully hope, the wish) to go. Among these men were Fleury, Morny, Persigny, Magnan, St. Arnaud, Maupas. Once in their hands, he could not stop.

Fleury.

Fleury, a young major, a soldier of fortune, was probably as much as any other responsible for the way in which the *coup d'état* was executed.

Morny.

Count, or Duke de Morny, said to be a son of Queen Hortense, a daring adventurer of fascinating manners and a speculator of bad repute, was appointed Minister of the Interior, and performed his task with heartless logic.

Maupas.

Maupas had been appointed prefect of police as early as October 27, more than a month before the *coup d'état.* What this man did, the reader will learn in due time.

Persigny.

Persigny was a gentleman in manners and appearance. In the crisis, when the President shrunk back, the conspirators appointed Persigny to remain constantly at the Elysée, and report to the President the progress of events, with such concealments and favorable misrepresentations as might best keep up his spirits, and enable him to give the necessary signatures required through the night.

Magnan.

When arranging the Boulogne attempt, Louis Napoleon selected Magnan as one who would commit any act of treason for a bribe of four thousand pounds. He was now invited to join, and offered the chief command of the military force in and around Paris on a certain condition. The offer included rank and honor. Such an adventure could not but dazzle such a man. But he said, like Macbeth: "What, if we *fail?*" The condition, when he clearly understood it,

staggered him. He was willing to "jump the life to come." He was willing to perform the deed required, but not on his own responsibility. He was afraid of being brought before an earthly tribunal. He said, therefore, he must have a written order in black and white from the War Minister. The written order was promised, and the bargain was struck. On entering into his high office as commander of the military forces in Paris (November 27), he privately invited to his residence twenty generals under his command. He told them he should soon call upon them to act against Paris and the constitution. Each one promised absolute obedience. The whole set then joyfully embraced and separated. Did these officers understand what it was which they were to do? Or were they ready to do any thing which might be ordered? One thing, at least, they must have distinctly understood. They were to slaughter their fellow-citizens for defending the constitution. Was this the elevating thought which made them fall into each others' arms?

St. Arnaud.

But who was the Minister of War authorized and willing to give the mysterious order? No one had been found in Paris who dared to accept the appointment. Many were ready to do the deed, but not to undertake the responsibility. The plot was threatened with failure, for the want of a Minister of War. The difficulty had been overcome by the President, who sent Fleury to Algiers in search of some person possessing the quality required. Fleury found his man; a general officer, who had borne several names, sometimes called Le Roy, and sometimes St. Arnaud. The antecedents of this officer were such as to obviate all embarrassment in making him proposals. He was a

thoroughly unprincipled soldier of fortune; of superior talent; reckless; dissolute; living only for sensual enjoyment; tormented by a desire for wealth, rank, and honors; and hiding under a graceful and sometimes captivating exterior, the heart of a tiger. He had treated the Arabs with such cruelty, that the company he commanded was called the *Infernal Column*. He was a great admirer of Pelissier, for the murders which that officer had committed in the cave of the Dahra. In 1845, St. Arnaud had an opportunity to perform a similar act. A body of Arab fugitives had sought safety in the cave of Shelas. St. Arnaud pursued them with his *Infernal Column*, stopped the openings of the cave, and, with the exception of eleven who came out and surrendered, killed by suffocation the whole number, five hundred. A letter of St. Arnaud has been published since his death, in which he says: "*I had all the apertures hermetically stopped. I made one vast sepulcher.*" This was the man selected for Minister of War. He joyfully accepted, and agreed to give the order. He was no sentimentalist, but a soldier, and a logical one. To him it was the same whether he murdered with his own hand, or gave the written order to murder. He was appointed War Minister a month and five days before the *coup d'état*. When he crossed the threshold of the War Department, all the military force of France was in Louis Napoleon's hands. But in whose hands was Louis Napoleon?

Mr. St. George, Director of the State Printing-office.

The conspirators were now ready. They had a War Minister ready to give the order. Magnan, second in command, was ready to execute it. An irresistible army, by feasts, gifts, speeches, promises, misrepresentations, and wine, gradually and artfully inflamed to fury, was ready

to obey orders. Maupas was ready to work the vast police machinery; and Morny, to wield the Home Office, with all its wonderfully-perfected powers. They required only one thing more, a printing-office. The State printing-office, accustomed to print the orders of government, was under the direction of Mr. St. George. Mr. St. George was bought as one buys a yard of tape, and the arrangements were complete.

The army.

The army consisted of officers and regiments, carefully selected and unscrupulously obedient. All suspected of conscience, humanity, or fidelity to the constitution, had been eliminated. In the first days of December, the troops were so exasperated against the civilians, that they called them "Bedouins" (the enemies against whom they had so long fought in Africa). Paris slept. The unconscious city was silently encircled by a great army, like a monstrous serpent ready to spring upon her.

Coup d'état, December 2, 1851.

December 2, the anniversary of the battle of Austerlitz, and also of the coronation of Napoleon I., was chosen as the eventful day. Morny appeared at one of the theaters, as if seeking to beguile the leisure of a vacant evening. At the same hour, the President gave a reception at the Elysée Palace. He was in excellent spirits, and at about eleven o'clock had bowed out all fair visitors with pretty compliments and sportive jests. The elegant rooms were at last deserted. Only the President, Morny, Maupas, St. Arnaud, and an orderly officer of the President, Colonel Beville, remained. These five men looked each other in the face. More than one trembled. Fleury was absent. In the darkness of night, he had gone to surround, with a battalion of *gens d'armerie*, the building which con-

tained the State printing-office. The operation was rapidly and silently executed. The building was surrounded; all egress and ingress prevented; the compositors arrested; each one placed between two of Maupas' police officers, and informed that he must set up in type certain manuscripts, which would presently arrive. Fleury hastened back to the Elysée, and in high glee announced the perfect success of this first measure. The President then handed to Colonel Beville a packet of addresses, proclamations, etc., mostly written by himself. Beville carried them to the State printing-office. There was, at first, some resistance; but the compositors were given to understand that the time of resistance had passed. Thus were printed the documents. As the day broke, the Parisians who happened to be in the streets found startling proclamations and addresses everywhere posted up. The newspapers were seized and suppressed. Several brigades of infantry, stationed at certain points, kept order, and were ready to cover the flight in case of need.

Arrest of the principal statesmen and soldiers of France.

The principal generals of France were arrested in the night, dragged out of bed, and cast into prison: Cavaignac, Changarnier, Bedeau, Lamoricière, Leflô, Charras, and many others. Some of these had risked their lives to save Paris in the June days. They were confined in the fortress of Vincennes, or conducted to the Belgian frontier. A large number of the most eminent statesmen were arrested at the same time; among them, Thiers, Miot, etc., the whole number, seventy-eight. Of these, eighteen were members of the Assembly. The arrests were made by police officers of Maupas, in a brutal way. As the newspapers were muzzled, the people could

get no correct information. Their leaders and counselors were in dungeons.

Louis Napoleon in the crisis.

A singular incident is related by Kinglake, who says it was afterward declared true by *one* of the two persons concerned. The President (to his honor be it said), thoroughly disgusted and frightened, broke down in the course of the night, and withdrew into his cabinet alone. He was followed by Fleury, who locked the door, presented a revolver to the President's forehead, and declared that if, after having brought his friends into the present dilemma, he now attempted to abandon them, he would blow his (the President's) brains out. (The occasion seems to have been the President's reluctance to sign a certain order to the War Minister.) The President had no alternative but to go on:

> "Facilis descensus Averno;
> Noctes atque dies patet atri janua Ditis;
> Sed revocare gradum; superasque evadere ad auras;
> Hoc opus; hic labor est."*

Louis Napoleon at day-break.

Numbers of suspected persons, during the night, were arrested and cast into prison. At day-break, surrounded by a staff of officers, among them his uncle Jerome, the President appeared in the court of the Tuileries, and there distributed the four proclamations which had been posted all over Paris, in substance as follows: "*The country in danger. A horrible plot of the Reds; the* coup d'état *a necessity for the salvation of France; universal suffrage restored*

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* "Easy the descent to Hell;
Night and day open stands the gate of the gloomy Pluto;
But to retrace the way; to re-ascend to the upper air;
That is the difficulty! That is the labor!"

—the Assembly, a nest of traitors, dissolved;—Paris and twelve adjoining departments in a state of siege.—Soldiers, be faithful to the President!—Remember the disgraceful defeats you suffered from the people in 1830 and 1848!" Louis Napoleon then, accompanied by his staff, commenced what was intended to be a triumphal ride through Paris, cheered by shouts: "*Vive Napoleon! Vive l'Empereur!*" There was nothing of the sort. The people looked on coldly and scornfully. They saw the President was executing a *coup d'état;* but they had no faith in and no love for him. As with his staff on that cold December morning, he timidly ventured forth, passing close to the troops stationed on his way, no electric fires played into the air. Nothing was heard except some contemptuous cries of *Soulouque! Soulouque!* (Faustin I., negro Emperor of Hayti [1850], had also executed a bloody *coup d'état.*) Louis Napoleon, appalled at what he had done, and at what he had yet to do, went back into his cabinet in the Elysée, and there remained alone several hours, his back to the daylight, bent over a fire-place, his elbows resting on his knees, his face buried in his hands. During this time, Persigny formed his only medium of communication with his fellow-conspirators.

There is often something strangely ironical in history-names. When Napoleon I. reached Moscow, as we have seen, he caught his first view of the city from a hill called "Salvation." The word "Elysée" means a delicious dwelling-place for the happy souls of virtuous men.

Home Office.

At an early hour, by the machinery of the Home Office, Morny had communicated to the forty thousand Communes that the President had put down a vast plot of the Reds; saved Paris from destruction; dissolved the traitorous Assembly; bestowed

a republican constitution, and was leading France back to peace and prosperity. He did not mention that, among the traitors who had been cast into dungeons in order to save France from the Red Republic, were Cavaignac, Changarnier, Lamoricière, Bedeau, Thiers, etc.

The Assembly.

Notwithstanding its dissolution, the Assembly attempted a sitting in the morning. They were brutally attacked by the troops; some struck with the butt end of the musket; twelve arrested and carried off to prison, and the rest dispersed. The brave fellows met again at the mayoralty, two hundred and twenty in number, and passed a resolution (Berryer) deposing Louis Napoleon as a traitor, convoking the Supreme National Court in order to impeach him. While they were passing this resolution, the troops charged bayonet upon them, cleared the hall, roughly seized a large number by the collar, and marched them a long walk through many streets between files of soldiers. They were at last led into the Barrack d'Orsay, the gates of which were closed. Other members were afterward arrested. In the course of the afternoon, the whole number (two hundred and thirty-two) had been thrust into vans without windows, made for the transport of convicts, and confined in different prisons. The under officers commanded to arrest so many noble gentlemen and renowned soldiers, and to disperse the Assembly and the Supreme Court, in some instances manifested shame. One sent back for instructions to General Forey, but in reply received the answer: "*Obey your orders.*" Forey afterward played a rôle in the Mexican episode.

The Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court met at the call of the Assembly, and addressed a summons to Louis Napoleon to appear and answer to the accusation

of treason. Instead of Louis Napoleon, a company of soldiers appeared, drove the judges from the bench, and out of the hall, and destroyed the summons.

First barricade. Baudin-Jules Favre.

Where were the barricades? Where were the men of Paris? There were clubs, secret societies, socialists, revolutionists in the city; but they were an insignificant minority at that moment. The June days had for the time swept away and annihilated the power of revolution. Moreover, the measures had now been too well taken. No proclamations could be issued; no protest "drawn by Thiers after consultation with forty-four journalists." What a child's play now appeared the insipid *coup d'état* of poor Charles X.; the dissolution of an assembly; the arbitrary suppression and murder of an electoral law; or Mr. Guizot's prohibition of the banquets. How snow-white now shone Louis Philippe, contrasted with Louis Napoleon. Thiers, the journalists, the generals, the Deputies were all now in prison. There were no newspapers to carry the startling news—no leaders to cry "Down with Soulouque!" Nevertheless, it would not do for Paris to see such things without at least a few barricades. The members of the Assembly, among them, Baudin, Jules Favre, Victor Hugo, formed a committee of resistance, and called upon the people to rise. On December 3, a barricade appeared in the Faubourg St. Antoine. A few men gathered behind it; among them, about twenty Deputies who had escaped arrest. A battalion was immediately sent to make an example. Seeing the absurdity of a combat with so overwhelming a force, the Deputies laid down their firearms, trusting to the humanity and honor of their armed fellow-citizens, and advanced in front of the barricade, to speak to them peaceably. The Deputies had thrown over

their shoulders the scarfs which marked them as the legally-elected representatives of the people. At the head of this unarmed group stood the Deputy, Charles Baudin, holding in his hand the open book of the constitution. The helpless unarmed law thus confronted the savage *Faustrecht.* Baudin commenced an address to the troops, inviting them to respect the constitution, when the officer in command gave an order to the first rank of men. The muskets were immediately brought to the shoulder. The volley followed. Baudin's brains were blown out; another Deputy fell dead, and several were wounded. The volley was returned from the barricade. The officer who gave the order to fire was killed. There was a slight skirmish for the dead body of Baudin. The troops, of course, easily dispersed their opponents, and carried off the body. Paris scarcely moved even at this. The warlike city had found her master.

Consultative Commission.

Paris and all France (December 3) had been informed of the *coup d'état;* but not a single respectable person had given in his adherence. The means adopted were too infamous; the conspirators too despicable. The President now resorted to a trick. He appointed what he called a "Consultative Commission," in which, of course, without their consent or even knowledge, he named about eighty of the most honored men of France, who considered it an insult to be placed on the same level with him, to say nothing of St. Arnaud, Maupas, and the rest. The absence of newspapers cut off the possibility of exposing the fraud. For a time, it weakened the feeble opposition and threw a temporary character of respectability over the man who had seized the government.

An insurrection, although absolutely without means of

success, nevertheless broke out. A portion of the indignant population in that quarter of the city lying between the Hôtel de Ville and the Boulevards St. Denis and Bonne Nouvelle, threw up some barricades. The insurgents were without leaders, and not numerous enough to occupy the houses. The troops destroyed the barricades as soon as erected. Other barricades appeared and disappeared in the same way. But in the afternoon of the 3d, the troops were ordered to remain quiet, and not to interfere with the barricades. The insurgents were allowed, unmolested, to erect as many as they chose. This went on during the afternoon and night of the 3d and a great part of the 4th. Did the lion, conscious of his strength, disdain to notice an enemy unworthy of him, or did he wait and watch a better opportunity to spring?

Inactivity of the troops for twenty-four hours, from the afternoon of the 3d to that of the 4th.

Sixty hours had passed since the first blow. Every subsequent measure had been successful. There were no opponents in Paris worthy of the name. There was no fighting, and no barricades which one quarter of the troops could not easily remove. It might be naturally expected that the next step would be the publication of the new constitution; the convocation of the new Senate and Assembly; the *senatus-consultum;* the *plebiscit;* the proclamation of Napoleon as Emperor of the French. The inhabitants of Paris supposed the *coup d'état* completed, and all danger passed. The honored names (fraudulently) introduced into the Consultative Commission gave a right to think so. The idea was, moreover, justified by the pause of twenty-four hours.

The gay crowd little knew what the pause portended. St. Arnaud had given the mysterious order; but it was

so terrible that Magnan, even at the head of his forty-eight thousand troops, and with the order in his hand, was afraid to execute it. The order was in substance as follows: "*In case of a conflict, the troops were to grant no quarter; to fire without regard to by-standers; to put to death not only every combatant found in arms against them, but those also who, although not in arms, might nevertheless be deemed to have taken part against them.*"

Explanation of the pause.

When we remember the system so long pursued for the purpose of inflaming the troops against the people, this order could have but one meaning—*A massacre;* combatants and non-combatants, men, women, and children.

Magnan shrunk back. He became ill. We can imagine the conspirators during the morning of the 4th discussing the question: Shall we proceed yet further in this business? Had we not better abandon it altogether? We can fancy the white faces with which some pleaded humanity and God; and the scornful, logical ruffianism with which the more enlightened demonstrated that they *could* neither go back nor stand still. The crime was already committed. The Empire with its power and wealth was within their reach; if they now hesitated, they would either be guillotined or become a by-word for cowardice. Sentimental objections were thus overruled, and Magnan forced to obey the order.

While this ominous discussion was going on in the pandemonium of the Elysée, all Paris was in the streets enjoying a delightful afternoon. The weather was soft and mild. The windows of the glittering boulevards were wide open; windows and balconies crowded with spectators eager to

The massacre on the boulevards.

witness a great historic drama. The multitude in the streets were particularly attracted by the dazzling military array. It was a holiday in Paris. The troops were stationed in a line from the Boulevard Bonne Nouvelle going westward to the Boulevards Poissonnière, Montmartre, des Italiens, Capucines, and to the Madeleine Church. The town was quiet. The district between the Hôtel de Ville and the Boulevard Bonne Nouvelle was held by the insurgents behind a number of barricades. This quarter was surrounded by several brigades of infantry in such a way that they could converge upon the insurgent quarter from every point of the compass. The insurrection was, therefore, absolutely and beyond question, helplessly within their power. At two o'clock P.M., these brigades were advanced so as to bring them nearly up to the barricades. At that point of the Boulevard Bonne Nouvelle where stand the Gymnase Theater and the Porte St. Denis, the street was crossed by a barricade occupied by twenty men. This was the advance post of the insurgents, and the north-west extremity of the part of the town which they held. At three o'clock, a field-piece was fired at the little barricade. It was followed by a few musket shots, and one or two shots in return. Nobody was wounded; nobody was even alarmed. The throngs in the streets did not quicken their pace. Suddenly, a soldier fired his musket *straight up into the air.* This was the signal. The troops instantly brought their muskets to the shoulder, and fired point-blank into the crowd of men, women, and children. The officers did not appear to give orders, but acquiesced in the firing, and made no effort to prevent it. Sheets of flame in rapid succession blazed along the Boulevard Bonne Nouvelle, the Boulevard Poissonnière, the Boulevard Montmartre, the

Boulevard des Italiens. The men fired not only into the street crowd, but into the windows and balconies. The people did not at first retire, because they had no idea the firing was with ball-cartridge. They thought it a *feu de joie*, till the bullets came rattling and crashing against the houses and into the rooms; and the shrieks of the wounded, and the bleeding bodies falling on all sides, announced a massacre. Sixteen thousand soldiers eagerly joined in this act during a period of between fifteen and twenty minutes. They fired as often as possible, and killed as many as they could. After the crowds had dispersed, they fired upon single fugitives, sometimes wounded and crawling away upon their hands and knees. Occasionally, a man, seeing no other hope, would rush up to the murderers, and implore mercy. The soldiers seemed to grant his prayer, and motioned him away; then brought him down as he ran. No difference was made between men, women, and children. Both sexes, all ages, fell together. A Colonel Rochefort, of the lancers, at the head of his detachment, distinguished himself by riding furiously upon the flying fugitives, slaughtering to the right and left every one within his reach. Thirty corpses remained as a monument of his glory. When the streets were cleared of the living, and all the doors and windows closed, the troops, now seized with infernal madness at the sight of the flowing blood, broke into the houses; hunted their prey from cellar to garret, and fully sated their increasing thirst for slaughter. A particular instance is given. Fourteen trembling persons had sought refuge in a carpet warehouse. The bloodhounds scented them out, found them crouching upon the floor behind a pile of carpets, and butchered them all.

What would the Shah of Persia, or one of the negro

kings of Africa, have thought of the metropolis of the world and the head of Christian civilization, had he walked along the boulevards at the conclusion of this massacre? For the distance of one thousand yards, the pavement was strewed with dead bodies weltering in blood, sometimes lying singly, sometimes in heaps. The heaps were occasioned by the circumstance that the persons wounded staggered on for a few steps, then stumbled over one or more dead bodies, and thus fell. In one place, thirty-three corpses; in another, thirty-seven lay thus together. Here a gray-haired old man sat leaning against the wall of a house, his half-smoked cigar just fallen from his fingers; here, a poor printer's boy lay stretched at full length, a proof-sheet still grasped in his hand, and fluttering in the breeze; here, a dead woman clasped a dead child. Many women were among the killed. It was scarcely possible to pass along the boulevard without being stained with blood. The countenances of the persons who had escaped, and who had beheld the horrible details, had a strong livid hue, as if the appalling spectacle were yet before their eyes. The sights they had seen, the shrieks they had heard, broke down many a strong, brave man, who sobbed and wept hysterically.

The streets after the massacre.

The writer was in Berlin at the time, followed the accounts reported in the London *Times* and other newspapers, and personally received a verbal statement from a friend who, with a number of others, had escaped the bullets by taking refuge in a cellar. Our description is particularly based upon the narrative of Kinglake, and the report of a perfectly competent eye-witness—a British officer, who calmly observed and testified to what he had seen. Mr. Kinglake adds: "Whatever people thought

after this of Louis Napoleon, they did not laugh at him."

Massacre of the insurgents.

At the moment when the sixteen regiments began to fire upon the people on the boulevards, four brigades of the other troops were moved forward to attack the flimsy barricades. The insurgents, compared with the military, were almost as helpless as the women and children on the boulevards. The troops had been so stationed around their quarters, that no escape was possible. The barricades were easily swept away. There was scarcely any fighting, and now commenced the second massacre. The people in the doomed quarter, non-combatants and combatants, were penned in, and every man defending a barricade, or suspected of defending it, was instantly put to death. Magnan subsequently declared, those who had defended the barricades in the quarter *Beaubourg*, were *all put to death.* Another report declared that, of the defenders of the barricade Porte St. Martin, the troops had *not spared one.* Many fugitives were shot, fleeing. Many inactive persons had been taken by officers, too humane to butcher unresisting men; but orders came, and these men also were shot. Not a single known example of mercy relieved the dark story. Fugitives were sometimes admitted into the houses by persons desiring to save them, and the doors closed; but the troops battered down the doors, and murdered the inmates. In one house, thirty-two were thus murdered. After the taking of the barricades, the troops were ordered to search the public houses. One hundred prisoners were thus made. But how could the combatants be distinguished from the non-combatants? Every man found with blackened hands was shot. Prisoners selected to die were some-

times kindly aided by the officers in making arrangements. One man asked whether he might send to his mother fifteen francs. The officer consented, and no doubt conscientiously executed his commission. He took the man's address, then gave the order for his death.

The Prefecture of Police.—Maupas in the night of the 4th.

Numbers of prisoners had been brought into the Prefecture of Police, and on that dreadful day and night were crowded together. Who were they? Whence came they? What was to be done with them? They were probably persons suspected of opposing the *coup d'état.* The orders of St. Arnaud were to kill every one deemed likely to offer opposition. But how were they to be killed? Maupas did not like to massacre them in public. They were driven, with their hands tied behind them, into a court of the Prefecture; and then the police officers of Maupas knocked each on the head with an ax or a loaded club, as a butcher kills an ox.

The *coup d'état* was not yet quite finished. On the night of December 4 and 5, volleys of musketry were again heard from various points of the city; now from the Champ de Mars; now from the Garden of the Luxembourg; now from the Esplanade des Invalides. The firing was sometimes followed by shrieks. Once were heard piteous words, as of a boy begging for life. Then a musket shot. Then silence.

Plebiscit, Dec. 14-21, 1851.

Immediately after the *coup d'état,* the nation was called by universal suffrage to vote upon the question: "Shall Louis Napoleon be elected President for ten years, with authority to draw up a constitution?" The people were yet cowering under the influence of the massacres. The election gave a majority of seven and a half million.

The new constitution almost immediately appeared, composed by himself. The name Republic retained; the Presidential term prolonged for ten years; the President, with the title Prince President, clothed with all the prerogatives of a monarch; a Senate irremovable, named and paid by himself; its debates secret; a Legislative Assembly, elected by universal suffrage, its proceedings not to be published; the Prince President's salary raised from three million six hundred thousand to twelve millions; and (instead of a jail) all the palaces of France surrendered to him. The Prince began to assume something of the ceremony of an Emperor.

New constitution, Jan. 14, 1852.

A decree now confiscated all the appanage property of the Orleans family (that is, the property which they had received from the State as princes), and compelled them to sell their private property in France within one year.

Orleans property confiscated, January 22, 1852.

A press law of the severest kind followed.

Law muzzling the press.

Among other decrees, were the following: I. The Pantheon Church was redelivered to the Roman Catholics. II. The birthday of Napoleon I. (August 15) to be the only national holiday. III. The soldiers of the army who had served under the Republic received a considerable gift in money. IV. The French military system was reorganized so as to throw the whole power into the hand of the chief magistrate. V. The imprisoned members of the Legislative Assembly were disposed of. Sixty-seven were banished from France and her colonies, and forbidden to return under the penalty of transportation. Several members were transported to Cayenne. A num-

Several other decrees.

ber of other persons were ordered out of France, among them Changarnier, Lamoricière, Bedeau. VI. A general decree of banishment.

Insurrections had broken out in various provinces. Morny sent commissaries to apply the military law and crush every sign of resistance. A retroactive decree condemned to transportation every person who had ever belonged to a secret society. It is estimated that two million persons in France, including the President himself, had been members of these societies. The decree was instantly acted upon. At the simple word of the President, or Morny, or Maupas, any one was liable to be seized. Twenty-six thousand persons, as the President expressed himself, for "the public security," were transported under this decree within three weeks. One more decree appeared in the *Moniteur* (December 7). Combats with insurgents at home to count as if fought against a foreign enemy.

Thoughts on the coup d'état.

The *coup d'état* was generally approved by the European governments and upper classes as a necessary remedy against the revolution, communism, atheism, etc. Louis Napoleon was the Hercules who had slain this many-headed hydra; forgetting that when one of the heads was cut off two would grow in its place! Lord Palmerston, the British Minister, applauded. The diplomatic corps in Paris, went in a body and bowed down before the savior of society. Pope Pius IX. publicly asked the blessing of God upon the prince. The Archbishop of Paris and the Roman clergy crowded to the Elysée and did reverence. The corpses which had encumbered the boulevards were scarcely cold in their pits, when a *Te Deum* was celebrated in the Church Notre-Dame, where the Goddess of

Reason had once received divine honors. That edifice was now brilliantly illuminated. The conspirators enjoyed the intoxicating worship which the world offers to success. Thousands thronged to the ceremony. The splendid costumes and pompous rites of the Roman Church gave sacred grandeur to the moment; "and when," says Kinglake, "the deep majestic organ rolled its massive peals over the heads of the kneeling multitude, bearing up to the gates of heaven the chanted prayers of the Church and nation: '*Te Deum laudamus*' ('We praise Thee, O God'), '*Domine salvum fac Ludovicum Napoleonem*' ('O Lord save Louis Napoleon'), every heart swelled with gratitude and adoration."

We can only wonder that reasonable beings, still more that Christians, could look for the salvation of society from such an act. Cavaignac had, for the moment, saved society; but his effort offered a striking contrast. The legitimate representatives of the nation entreated him to accept the office of chief magistrate; but he declined because it was not bestowed by the nation itself, and retired to private life. Thousands have volunteered to save society. Brutus and his friends; Robespierre, Danton, Marat, Anacharsis Clootz, Blind, Hoedel, Nobiling are among the saviors of society; and the numbers are daily increasing.

The Roman Triumvirate murdered for ambition, but only their enemies. The Emperor Theodosius was drunk with revenge. The St. Bartholomew butcheries expressed the passions of raving fanatics. We are forced to the conclusion that the boulevard massacres were more cold-blooded than any of the others. The chief magistrate and his fellow-conspirators, to protect themselves from just punishment and acquire a throne, determined to

strike down and bully the nation by an act so frightful as to appall and paralyze opposition. The salvation of society was a flimsy pretext. They cared as little for society as for the women and children on the boulevards. They did what they did to obtain the throne. How far they succeeded in "saving society," the following sketch will show.

We are not to suppose that Louis Napoleon deliberately ordered or, at the time, even fully approved the boulevard massacre. He was determined to grasp the crown by any means. He had leagued himself with a set of men who dragged him forward farther than he at first intended to go. He thought he could steer by his own strength; but in the culminating moment, he found he had lost the helm, and the enterprise swept onward without his control.

Senate revives the Empire, November 7, 1852.

On November 7, 1852, the Senate passed the following resolution: "The Imperial dignity is revived in the person of Louis Bonaparte, under the name of Napoleon III. The Imperial throne hereditary in the male line, the resolution of the Senate to be laid before the people." This resolution bears the imposing title of a *senatus-consultum*.

Election, November 21, 22, 1852.

The decree of banishment had swept away thousands who might have offered opposition. It required some courage to make a stump speech. It would not have needed many words or many hours to transfer a noisy orator to the deck of a dismal ship bound to Cayenne. There was no rival candidate. The question submitted was simply this: "*Shall the President Louis Napoleon be elected Emperor?*" In all the French communes, the priests tied the printed word "*yes*" on the backs of the peasants and

packed them off to the polls. This is what Louis Napoleon called a *plebiscit.* The President was thus almost unanimously chosen Emperor. The yeas, seven million eight hundred thirty-nine thousand five hundred and fifty-two; the nays, two hundred fifty-four thousand five hundred and one!

Napoleon III., Emperor of the French, Dec. 2, 1852.

On December 2, 1852, exactly twelve months after the commencement of the *coup d'état*, Louis Napoleon, amid the "joyful and enthusiastic acclamations of the people," was proclaimed "*Napoleon III.*, by the *grace of God*, and the *will of the people*, Emperor of the French." Thus was the adventurer of Strassburg and Boulogne, and the perpetrator of the *coup d'état*, at last seated on the Imperial throne. Napoleon took his place as Emperor, with the ripened plan to annex provinces and to strengthen himself by foreign wars. Almost his first act, therefore, was a speech in Bordeaux, assuring the people and sovereigns of Europe that the Empire was peace.

Recognition of the Empire, Dec. 6, 1852.

The British government recognized the Empire. Belgium, Austria, Russia, Prussia followed. The Russian Emperor Nicholas, in the document communicating the recognition, instead of using the phrase, *Monsieur mon frère*, addressed him simply, *Sire.* This was intended as an insult, and was so taken.

Abd-el-Kader released, Dec. 22, 1852.

One of the first acts of the new Emperor was to render liberty to the noble Arab chief, Abd-el-Kader. The reader will remember that Abd-el-Kader had surrendered to Louis Philippe's government, on the condition that he should be sent in freedom to St. Jean d'Acre, or Egypt. The Duke d'Aumale, Louis Philippe's son, then Governor of

Algeria, ratified the capitulation; but Louis Philippe brought a stain upon the national faith, by breaking the pledge, and holding his prisoner captive in France. The Emperor Napoleon III. now released him, on condition that he should never bear arms against France. The Arab, in contrast to the Christian, did not violate his pledge.

Marriage.

As Napoleon had tried in vain to form a matrimonial alliance with one of the royal families, he now raised to the throne, Eugenie de Guzmann, Countess de Teba, a private lady, beautiful, accomplished, and amiable.

Crimean war.

The Crimean war was undertaken by Napoleon, to efface the impression of the *coup d'état;* to divert the attention of the French people from home affairs, and to surround his name with a military glory. Russia unconsciously played into his hands. Her Emperor thought the time had come for the partition of the Ottoman Empire. He proposed a plan to England; that government should seize Egypt and the Island of Crete, and Russia would take Servia, Bosnia, and Bulgaria; provisionally occupy Constantinople, and assume the protectorate of all the Greek Christians of the Turkish Empire. England refused. The pretext for a war, which Napoleon desired, was now before him, and he profited by the opportunity to seek a quarrel with Russia.

Certain spots are still shown in Palestine, as consecrated by associations with our Saviour. Among them are the Sacred Manger and the three churches of Gethsemane, Bethlehem, and the Holy Sepulcher. Russia was the only country at that time really interested. Fifty million Russians regarded a pilgrimage to Palestine as a blessing, and religiously desired to preserve free access to

it. A French pilgrim was scarcely ever seen there, yet Napoleon made the Holy Places the pretext of the war. An old treaty, negotiated a hundred years previously (1740), and nearly forgotten, secured certain privileges to French pilgrims. France now complained to the Turkish government that it had granted to Russia privileges not reconcilable with this treaty. There had been a little quarrel between the Greek and Latin churches, as to which one should possess the keys of certain doors; among others, the great door of the Church of Bethlehem. The French had a key to the small door; but that was not enough; and Turkey was persuaded or dragooned into concessions to France, in conflict with those accorded to Russia. The Emperor Nicholas accepted the war, in the conviction, confirmed by his diplomatic agents, that there was not the least probability of an alliance between France and England. He was soon astonished by discovering a secret alliance between those two governments. He was, in fact, caught in a trap. Napoleon had executed another diplomatic *coup d'état.*

The Porte declared war against Russia. The example was followed by France and England. The details of this war do not belong to our sketch. It lasted two years. Napoleon appointed St. Arnaud, French commander-in-chief. The allies suffered enormous loss by sickness, privation, pestilence, and on the field of battle. The Russian fortress Malakoff was at length stormed, and the town Sebastopol occupied. During the war, the English commander, Lord Raglan, died. St. Arnaud also fell a victim to cholera. The haughty Emperor Nicholas had beheld, with amazement and despair, the repeated victories over his fleets and armies, and also died (March, 1855); report says

October, 1853—March, 1854.

(without proof), by his own hand. In this war, Napoleon was crowned with the same success which had attended his other projects, and encouraged to increase the stability of his throne by other similar *coups d'état.*

Treaty of peace, Paris, March 30, 1856.

A peace was concluded favorable to France, humiliating to Russia. Among other concessions, the latter power abandoned her claim to the protectorate over the Christians in Turkey; agreed not to build any arsenals on the Black Sea, and not to maintain there a fleet greater than that of the Porte.

Napoleon III. at the highest point, 1856.

The war raised Napoleon's reputation to a high point. Soon after its commencement, confident of success, he had opened a World Exposition (May 15, 1855), which attracted to Paris a multitude of strangers, and displayed the greatness of a sovereign who, at the same moment, could carry on such a war abroad, and exhibit such fruits of peace at home. Napoleon began to be regarded as a kind of Augustus, whose former cruelties only set off, by contrast, his present wisdom and virtue. He now cultivated friendly relations with the German middle States. The European powers, from this time, treated him as a sovereign, whose friendship was to be sought. With the Empress, he made a visit to Queen Victoria in London; was welcomed with the greatest honors, and admitted into the Order of the Garter, the highest order of knighthood in Great Britain. His visit was returned by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. He received visits in Paris from the King of Prussia, the King of Holland, Alexander II., Emperor of Russia, and the Emperor of Austria. Statesmen and soldiers from other countries came, and did reverence to the man who had destroyed

revolution and saved society, and at whose word Nicholas of Russia had disappeared from the earth.

Birth of an Imperial prince, March 16, 1856.

At the end of the war (March 16, 1856), the birth of an Imperial prince, three years after the marriage, tranquilized the nation by the guarantee of a stable dynasty, and filled the Imperial cup of prosperity to overflowing. France was raised again to her pre-eminence among the nations, and after all her troubles was now about, at last, to enjoy rest and peace. Public *fêtes*, fire-works, illuminations, were got up without regard to the budget. Large charitable donations and an extended amnesty increased the enthusiasm. Persons present in Paris in 1855 will remember the universal sensation when Napoleon was sometimes remarked in the dress of a private gentleman, himself driving his phaeton. With regard to the higher classes, although there were men, Changarnier, Cavaignac, etc., who could not be blinded by success as to the true character of the man of December, and to the hollow foundation on which his throne rested, this was not the case with all. Thousands of his former enemies, at last, crowded around the throne; not only the mean, the covetous, the ambitious and parasitical, but others of a higher character were, at last, attracted to the feet of him who could dispense wealth and honors, who could open to their sons the highest careers, and who was ready and anxious to pay any price for the adhesion of the noble families. As years rolled on, and the throne still remained standing upon foundations which appeared more and more solid, many wise and good men, dreading revolution and anarchy, thought it patriotic to strengthen the government. Great nobles and statesmen, legitimists, Orleanists, even socialists, who, by thus promoting the

peace of the country, could at the same time repair their own broken fortunes, gave in their adhesion. France now stood at the head of Europe. Paris was the center of the world.

Glimpses into the interior affairs during and after the Crimean war.

There was, however, a debit side to this account. The higher the Emperor rose in power, the deeper was the hatred of a large party. Many socialists, republicans, Orleanists, legitimists; families of the immense number of the transported; many of the high men of France who regarded him only as a successful brigand, thousands who, amid the shouts of the populace and the blaze of military glory, could never forget December 2, 1851; and thousands, who merely from selfish motives came and bowed down before him, yet were ready to betray him—all these formed together a strong and deep, although not loud, opposition. This opposition now began to grow stronger and more threatening. It soon manifested itself on public occasions. A French professor, Nisard, who had expressed his adhesion to the Napoleon government, was driven out of his lecture-room by the students. The Duke de Broglie, at that time received as member of the Academy, in his speech made a contemptuous remark, which vibrated through the heart of France. In 1857, this sentiment began to tell upon the elections. The Legislative Assembly became formidable by the appearance of strong enemies to the government; among them Ollivier, who subsequently went over to Napoleon.

Cavaignac.

Among others, Cavaignac had been elected. His simple appearance in the legislative hall was a loud accusation and a national protest against the Emperor. Cavaignac refused to take the oath

of fidelity to the government. The people of France marked his refusal, and knew what it meant.

Attempt to assassinate the Emperor, July 11, 1857.

A conspiracy to assassinate the Emperor in Paris was detected. The conspirators were transported.

Death of the poet, Béranger, July 16, 1857.

The popular republican poet, Béranger, died. The Emperor, alarmed at the prospect of a great republican demonstration, took the funeral into his own hands. Under the pretext of honoring the deceased with a national funeral, he directed the ceremony, paid the expenses, and had the body hastily laid in the grave, twenty-one hours after the moment of death.

Death of Cavaignac, October 28, 1857.

Cavaignac died soon after. Napoleon could not take personal direction of that funeral, and it became an impressive demonstration, not so much of republicanism against despotism, as of good against evil. The nation mourned. All Paris came forth to honor the man whose character and life presented such a singular contrast to those of the Emperor; the brave soldier; the incorruptible patriot; the faithful magistrate; the virtuous citizen, who, when clothed with dictatorial power, had used it only for his country, and then voluntarily laid it down; the real savior of France; yet who had refused the presidency. As the body was borne along the streets, the immense, noiseless multitude gave universal tokens of veneration, grief, and affection.

"Slow, for it presses heavily;
It is a man ye bear.
Slow, for our eyes rest wearily
On the noble sleeper there."

—Willis.

France felt the contrast. Every honest man marked the rebuke.

Finances.

Notwithstanding the outward appearance of prosperity and the official accounts, the finances were in disorder. There was great distress in the money market. The expenditures for the year 1855, exclusive of war expenses, had reached an alarming figure. A report of the Minister of Finance (June 16, 1856) announced that matters were growing worse. The Exposition of 1855, the immense funds asked for public buildings, bad harvests, great bourse speculations, and frauds, combined to increase the misery of the people. Financial crises sometimes swept over the country. Immense fortunes were made by swindling transactions; the spirit of speculation increased. It was believed that enormous frauds were practiced in the government circles themselves. A great inundation desolated several departments. In the valleys of Lyons, Tours, Orleans, and Blois, whole villages and railroads were swept away. While poverty and ruin thus prevailed, and bread riots broke out over the whole country, the upper classes exhibited pride, luxury, immense wealth, and vainglorious pomp. Paris blazed with splendor. The not-well-informed tourist thought her the richest, the most beautiful, and the happiest city of the world. It may be here added that so rich a country is France, and so capable of yielding abundance, that every loan demanded was immediately covered.

Report of the War Minister on the Crimean war.

A report of the War Minister gave a new subject for those who reflected. It stated that the number of troops sent into the Crimean war was three hundred and nine thousand two hundred and sixty-eight; the number returned, two

hundred and twenty-seven thousand one hundred and thirty-five. The lives of eighty-two thousand one hundred and thirty-three Frenchmen had thus been sacrificed.

Government attempts to relieve the people.

The attempt to relieve the poorer classes (as charlatanry always must) failed at last. By tearing down the old Paris, and building a magnificent new city in its place, the Emperor might give occupation, for a time, to many breadless laborers, and surround his name with a shallow and evanescent popularity; but he could not promote the prosperity of the country, or permanently relieve the poor. But as his position was, in reality, becoming more and more precarious, the nation always louder in demand for an extension of rights, he was compelled to maintain his prestige as he best could. He continued, therefore, his plan to transform Paris into one of the wonders of the world. So down came the old streets and alleys, rich in historical associations, and down came many an humble dwelling, where the poor laborer had found a home, to make way for stately palaces. The Louvre was completed. Broad streets opened. Enormous sums were demanded. Sixty-four other French cities were obliged to follow the example. During these constructions, the landlords of the other quarters, profiting by the want of houses, doubled their rents, and the landlords of the new houses looked with contempt upon any one not a count, a general, or a millionaire. Only the rich, and many of these *parvenus* and speculators, found abodes. The Minister of Finance complained that the Treasury was giving way; yet additional millions were demanded to keep down riots, by feeding and occupying the poor. Out of all this evil, however, grew one good. Paris became, indeed, a beautiful and well-ordered city.

Assassins.

In 1855, as he reached the culminating point of his success, assassins began to mark him. In April, a man named Pianoris; in September, another, Belmaris, attempted his life. In 1857, a conspiracy was detected, and the ringleader, Tibaldi, transported to Cayenne.

Many considerations had thus compelled Napoleon to abandon the complete conquest of the Crimea, partly because he was unable to bear the expenses of a longer struggle, and partly because the agitated state of France made it requisite to maintain a larger military force at home.

Orsini's attempt, Jan. 14, 1858.

On January 14, 1858, at half-past nine in the evening, as the Emperor and Empress had just arrived at the entrance of the Grand Opera, three torpedoes, thrown by hand under their carriage, exploded, killing two persons, and wounding many. The Emperor and Empress were not injured. As they entered their opera box (the Emperor very pale), the audience broke out into loud acclamations and cheers. The next day, the act was traced to a man calling himself Alsopp, who proved to be an Italian, Count d'Orsini. He had been aided by three accomplices. One of these was guillotined with Orsini. The life of one was spared, at the intercession of the Empress; the fourth was transported to Cayenne. Orsini had lived much in England, on intimate terms with Mazzini, supporting himself as a teacher, writer, and lecturer. He was a ruffian and an assassin, reckless how many lives he destroyed to gain a point. He stood by with perfect composure, witnessed the decapitation of his accomplice, then quietly laid down his own head upon the block.

From his dungeon (it is declared), he wrote two letters

to the Emperor, conjuring him to free Italy from Austria. Were these letters authentic, or were they another *coup de théâtre?* Weber casts a doubt on them, but says: "Whether genuine or not, they accomplished their purpose." The dead Orsini obtained that which living he had sought in vain.

Consequences of Orsini's attempt.

Laws immediately followed for muzzling the press, sharpening the passport system, and getting the schools more completely into the hands of the authorities. It will hardly be believed that the following law was demanded, enacted by the Legislative Assembly, and executed,—namely, "the government shall have the power instantly to arrest without trial of any kind, to hold in prison at pleasure, to transport to Cayenne or Algiers, any one having had any intercourse with any person, either publicly or in his own house, for the purpose of exciting him to hatred against the government, or against the chief magistrate of France." This law sounds like a decree of the King of Dahomey. The moment it was passed, many persons were suddenly arrested in Paris and in the departments. All France was in terror. France was then divided into five war departments, at the head of each a marshal with authority independent of the government, instantly to crush the first appearance of the insurrection. These laws were cruelly applied, and it is declared that, actuated by malice, envy, revenge, or self-interest, false witnesses denounced innocent persons, who were swept away with the rest. It is obvious that a man who had obtained power by such an act as the *coup d'état*, and who was obliged to prop his throne by such laws, must feel himself insecure; that a great nation like France, full of the highest elements and noblest charac-

ters, must, under such circumstances, be a mere volcano, always ready to explode.

Quarrel with England.

England has long served as a harbor of refuge for political offenders. No doubt some bad fellows have come in with the rest. Revolutionists on British soil have organized schemes against Continental governments, and no one more than Napoleon himself. Orsini had lived in England, and there matured his plot, giving Italian lessons to young ladies in the morning, and arranging his deadly bombs in the evening. After this attempt, a war feeling against England arose in France. The army demanded war, and Napoleon instructed Persigny, then French Minister in London, to press for a law modifying the right of asylum.

Right of asylum.

The right of asylum extended to political refugees by England, France, Switzerland, and the United States, ought to be maintained. Nevertheless, where the identity is established, and the attempted assassination clearly proved, the honor of each civilized government, as well as its true interest, the spirit of modern international law, and the law of God, equally require that such criminals should be surrendered, and that honest and watchful efforts should be used to prevent assassins from carrying on their plots on the territory of the country which gives them protection.

England refuses.

The demand raised such a row in England, that a negative answer speedily followed. Persigny was recalled from his post. General Espinasse, who had been an active accomplice in the *coup d'état*, was placed at the head of the police, as if a civilian would not be likely to possess a sufficient quantity of that sort of energy required on this occasion.

The Crimean war had brought to Napoleon neither money nor territory. It had cost the lives of more than eighty thousand Frenchmen, and greatly disturbed the finances; but it had brought fame and influence, and occupied the people. There was something very grand to a large part of the French people in the idea that their Emperor was powerful enough to compel the great powers of Europe, one after another, to bend and humble themselves under his mighty hand. Russia had been thus humbled. Now for Austria.

Italian war between France and Austria, Jan. 1, 1859.

The state of Italy presented a noble pretext. It was natural for the Italian people to wish a government of their own. The attempts of 1848 and 1849 had failed. Napoleon persuaded Victor Emmanuel to try again. Victor Emmanuel was a warlike, daring sovereign, determined to get possession of Northern Italy. At his side stood Cavour, a skillful and resolute statesman. The King of Sardinia had personally paid a visit to Napoleon in Paris, and had not become his ally in the Crimean war for nothing. Italy began by various provocations against Austria. War broke out. At a reception of the diplomatic corps (January 1, 1859), in Paris, the Austrian Minister went with his colleagues and paid his respects. Napoleon addressed to him the following words: "I regret that our relations with your government are not as good as formerly; but I beg you to tell the Emperor that my personal sentiments have not changed." It was thus that the war was announced to the astonished diplomate. Napoleon afterward proclaimed that Italy should be free to the Adriatic. A French army immediately entered Italy under MacMahon, Canrobert, etc. A rapid series of victories, Montebello, Magenta,

Solferino, the last one of the bloodiest battles of modern times. It continued from four o'clock in the morning till eight in the evening, and the roar of the cannon and the tumult of the battle were accompanied by vivid flashes of lightning and peals of thunder. The Austrians retreated. Napoleon made a triumphal entry into Milan. The reader may almost expect him to grasp the iron Lombard crown. Austria was beaten, but not conquered. She could easily have maintained the contest longer. Prussia, moreover, had sent a military force into the Rhine province, threatening France. These circumstances were exactly what Napoleon wanted. Freedom to the Adriatic for Italy he wanted no more than Austria did. He wanted subordination under France instead of Austria. He wanted a weak, disunited Italy, which he could manage as a sort of vassal State. He was thus as glad of a pretext for peace as he had been of a pretext for war. He proposed that Italy should be cut into three parts: one for Sardinia; one for Austria; the third for the Pope.

Personal interview of Francis Joseph and Napoleon, July, 1859.

Napoleon and Francis Joseph met in a pavilion, quite privately, at Villafranca. Here the two sovereigns arranged the chief points. The war was to stop. Italy was not to be free to the Adriatic. Venetia was to be retained by Austria. This interview had been, according to a request of Napoleon, without witnesses, and strange things are related as having been proposed by him.

Peace of Zurich, Nov. 10, 1859.

The conditions of peace were concluded at Zurich: I. Austria retained Venetia, but ceded Lombardy to the Emperor Napoleon, who ceded it to Sardinia. II. Italy to become a Confederation of States, under the presidency of the Pope. III.

The sovereigns of Tuscany, Modena, and Parma, who had been driven away by the revolution, to re-ascend their thrones; Bologna, etc., which had risen in insurrection, to be replaced under the Pope. IV. The Duchy of Savoy and the county of Nice (the nucleus and pride of the Kingdom of Sardinia) to be annexed to France. Victor Emmanuel signed this treaty, literally with tears in his eyes.

Thoughts on the Treaty of Zurich.

Italy was indignant and dismayed. She was as much surprised at the peace as Austria had been at the war. Instead of freedom to the Adriatic and a powerful, united kingdom, Napoleon had inflicted upon her the form of a confederation, in union with Austria and the Pope. Switzerland, also, was deeply injured by this treaty. Savoy (with Mont Blanc) was the *limitrophe* province on the south-western frontier of Switzerland, and formed the south shore of nearly the whole of Lake Geneva. France now reached to Vevay and Lausanne; and Geneva was almost converted into an *enclave*. The Congress of Vienna had made Savoy neutral territory for the protection of Switzerland. With that respect which Napoleon had always manifested for the will of the people, he would not accept the annexation of Savoy and Nice, till the inhabitants had expressed their wish by another *plebiscit*.

Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy, 1861.

Some of the stipulations of this treaty were swept away by the Italian revolution, headed by Garibaldi, so that in 1861, with the exception of Venice and the *Patrimonium Petri* (the small territory personally belonging to the Pope), the whole peninsula was annexed to Sardinia, and Victor Emmanuel became King of Italy. The victorious revolutionary troops of Garibaldi determined to drive the Pope

completely from the Italian peninsula, and against the will and stipulation of the Italian government to seize Rome and present it to Victor Emmanuel as his metropolis. Napoleon sent troops to the relief of the Holy Father. Garibaldi was wounded and taken prisoner. The Pope was maintained in Rome; the city occupied by French troops, who, in conformity with a treaty between France and Italy, were allowed to continue the occupation for two years.

The result of these various complicated events was the rising up in Europe of a new kingdom.

French elections. The elections of the Legislative Assembly in May, 1863, showed an increasing opposition.

Mirés, a great railway banker and loan contractor, whose immense and fraudulent transactions had brought him an enormous fortune, was at last arrested, tried, and condemned to five years' imprisonment. The French people believed that many high personages were accomplices in these frauds, and that the government would not dare to carry out the punishment. The sentence was indeed reversed, and Mirés released (April 21, 1862). The affair did not strengthen the throne.

Mirés, 1861.

Financial embarrassment. The government finances were greatly embarrassed in 1861, 1862, and the distress increased in the manufacturing districts.

Opium in China and brandy in our Christian countries, are the most frightful snares for the million. The Chinese government has used every effort to exclude the opium introduced by the British East-India Company in large quantities. The cultivation of it afforded a large revenue to

War with China, 1839-1840.

the Indian treasury. Eleven million pounds were introduced annually. After the prohibition, an immense smuggling trade was carried on by the English. The measures of the Chinese government to suppress the smuggling trade led to a war between China and England (1839, 1840), called the "opium war."

France and England complaining that China had evaded treaty obligations, sent an expedition and occupied Canton. The consequences were: a treaty opening the interior of China to European commerce and missions, and a right of European governments permanently to maintain diplomatic agents at Pekin. The Chinese violated this treaty, and perpetrated inhuman cruelties, mutilating and murdering several war prisoners; in consequence of which the allies stormed, plundered, and burned the Chinese Emperor's summer palace at Pekin. This led to a new treaty, by which China renewed the obligations contained in the first treaty and paid heavy war expenses. This victory over China was celebrated by France as a triumph of religion and civilization. The most populous country of the world had been thus opened to diplomatic agents, commerce, and—Christianity.

France joins England in a new war against China, 1857-1860.

In his speech opening the Chambers, the Emperor declared the state of France did not yet permit an extension of political rights.

Throne speech, January, 1866.

In 1864, two years before the German civil war of 1866, Napoleon commenced a war against Mexico. The United States were at that time struggling to suppress their great rebellion, which threatened to break asunder a republic really founded on rational liberty and justice, and to build up in its place a vast despotism, with the Af-

War with Mexico, 1864-1867.

rican slave-trade for its corner-stone. A singular disposition manifested itself in Europe to aid the slave-holding States. Napoleon chose this opportunity for his enterprise. Profiting by the supposed helplessness of the United States government, he had conceived the project of converting Mexico into a military empire as a French vassal State. Maximilian, second son of the Archduke Charles of Austria, and brother of the reigning Austrian Emperor, Francis Joseph, had been Governor-general of the Lombard-Venetian kingdom, and had recently married the Princess Charlotte, daughter of Leopold I., King of Belgium. By offering to him the Imperial crown of Mexico, Napoleon brought this noble young man into his plot.

Mexico had always been agitated by the struggles of the Roman Catholic and liberal parties. Presidents, pretendants, sometimes mere brigands, had followed one after another, plundering, executing, murdering, and devastating the country. It seems Mexico had inflicted certain injuries upon the subjects of France, England, and Spain, which could have been easily settled by two sensible representatives at a green table. But war was determined upon. A treaty was accordingly concluded between those powers, and a French and English fleet appeared upon the Mexican coast (April, 1862). Mexico had been browbeaten and robbed by the United States of America, under the government of slave-holders, and now they were threatened with extinction by a French army. Juarez, a just and moderate man, had been elected President, and was endeavoring to introduce order, when the French invaded the land. On gradually discovering Napoleon's plans of conquest, both England and Spain withdrew from the alliance. Napoleon deter-

mined to advance alone. This almost unprecedented act of arbitrary power was planned under the high-sounding pretext of *reorganizing the Latin race* (May 6). The French endeavored to take Puebla by storm, and were beaten back (May 27). The town was afterward taken by General Forey.

Maximilian.

Maximilian refused to accept the Mexican crown unless offered by the Mexican people.

French plebiscit in Mexico.

In order to deceive him, Napoleon got up in the city of Mexico what he called the Assembly of Notables (July 12, 1863), a few bribed traitors, priests, and nobles, who elected Maximilian constitutional Emperor. Maximilian still declined, until the crown should be offered to him by a free election of the people. Napoleon now resorted to his favorite weapon, a *plebiscit.* A ceremony bearing that name took place under French bayonets, and Maximilian was informed that two thousand Mexican communes, by far the majority of the Mexican people, had, by universal suffrage, called him to ascend the Mexican throne. The inexperienced, ambitious young man, relying upon these assurances, accepted the dangerous gift (April 10, 1864); entered the City of Mexico in triumph (June 12); attempted an organization of the military and civil affairs of the country in the French interest; but the Mexican people were wild revolutionists; not to be won by promises nor controlled by threats. In an evil hour, the young Emperor was induced to sign an order (redolent of the massacres of December 2), that every Mexican found in arms to defend his country should be instantly shot. In that order, under which a number of Mexicans were shot, Maximilian signed his own death-warrant.

If ever an enterprise were marked by equal stupidity

and criminality, it was this attempt to *kidnap* Mexico. The money soon failed. All the warlike parties of the country united against the invaders. The United States government had gradually called into action its immensely superior resources; the Christian spirit of the country, with irresistible power, had pressed the civil war to a victorious close, and abolished the institution which had so long been a danger and a disgrace. The moment President Lincoln issued his emancipation proclamation, the American government was master of the position. The whole Mexican enterprise was brought to a close by a dispatch of the United States government to its Minister (Mr. Bigelow) in Paris, requesting him to communicate to the government of France that the United States government would regard the longer presence of French troops in Mexico as a cause of war. Thus the lofty project of reorganizing and regenerating the Latin race, and of arresting the advance of the Anglo-German race, that is, of weakening, if not destroying, the Republic of the United States, fell to the ground. The French army, under Bazaine, immediately withdrew from Mexico. Bazaine advised Maximilian to abdicate and return to France, under the protection of the French troops; but two considerations induced the chivalric young man to decline the offer. He was surrounded by persons who could not leave, and who would be ruined if he forsook them. He, moreover, thought it dishonorable to fly from the position he had, however imprudently, assumed. He determined to remain and abide the consequences. He was besieged in Queretaro, taken prisoner, and shot (betrayed by the traitor Lopez), at thirty-five years of age. He died with calmness, after saying it was a beautiful day, and with friendly words distributing money to the small

detachment of soldiers, beneath whose bullets he was in a few moments to fall. He told them, he entirely forgave them for performing what was only their duty, and made one last request, namely, that they would fire in such a way as not to disfigure his face, that his friends in Europe might perhaps have a farewell look at his countenance. The Empress, as her friends continue to call her, had, some time before his capture, left her husband for France, to implore aid of Napoleon. Her mind gave way beneath the terror and anguish, and she became an incurable maniac, always flying from imaginary pursuit, and haunted by the idea that every one around was endeavoring to administer poison. This war is believed to have cost France one and a half milliard francs, and a great number of lives.

French troops retreat from Mexico, March 8, 1867.

The wreck of the French army retreated from Mexico. The French people saw with shame and indignation, in the embarkation of the troops at Vera Cruz, a disgraceful flight from a dishonorable enterprise. The throne of Napoleon thus became an object of ridicule and contempt, not only in Mexico and in other countries of the world, but also in France.

Luxembourg, March 27—May 7, 1867.

The diplomatic *fiasco* which Napoleon had experienced in the German war of 1866; the disappointment of his so long cherished desire to annex Belgium, etc., the rise of the North German Bund (1866), had embittered and strengthened the war party, and made Napoleon himself think the time had come to humble Prussia, as Russia and Austria had been humbled. The ignominious termination of the Mexican war, moreover, rendered some counterpoise necessary, and he resolved, in his underhand way, to obtain

it. On the frontier of Prussia, adjoining France, lay the grand duchy of Luxembourg, with a fortress so well built that Carnot had pronounced it the strongest place in Europe, after Gibraltar. The grand duchy had for a thousand years formed part of the German Empire. After the old French Revolution, Napoleon I. had incorporated it into France, to which it seemed to belong by language and religion. The Congress of Vienna gave it to the King of Holland, on the condition that, as Grand Duke of Luxembourg, he should become a member of the Germanic Confederation. As a German State, the fortress was, of course, German, and the Congress of Vienna gave Prussia the right to garrison it with Prussian troops. The grand duchy had not joined the new North German Bund in 1866, and therefore remained outside of Germany, a mere province of Holland. Prussia, nevertheless, held on to the right of occupation, and still kept her troops in possession. As to her right under the changed circumstances, there seems to be a doubt. The grand duchy, with the fortress, which might have been easily made impregnable, would indeed have been a not inconsiderable indemnification to Napoleon for his various failures. The world was surprised by the discovery that he was secretly endeavoring to purchase the grand duchy and fortress. The King of Holland wanted money, and the bargain was about to be concluded, when Prussia learned what was going on, and interposed a protest. Napoleon declared, with some reason, that all right of Germany had been extinguished by the separation of the grand duchy from Germany in 1866, and that Prussia could have no right to garrison a fortress which had become the exclusive property of the King of Holland. The firm refusal of Bismarck to permit the

purchase, and the serious opposition in all circles of Germany, compelled Napoleon to relinquish the project; but he demanded that the right of occupation should be also renounced by Prussia, and this seemed reasonable. Prussia hesitated, and both countries were hot for war. The Germans could not forgive the attempt of a foreign monarch, secretly to purchase a German fortress garrisoned by Prussian troops. What would England say, had she discovered that Germany was secretly endeavoring to purchase Gibraltar? The cases are not parallel; but the German people did not stop to consider.

Bismarck.

In this affair, as in most others, Bismarck did what was right. Calm, large, weighing in a just balance, he came to the conclusion, directly contrary to that of nearly every class and individual in Germany, that in this case war was not necessary. He not only came to this conclusion; but he acted upon it with that characteristic indifference to popularity which distinguishes a large statesman from a small one. For a time, he stood almost absolutely alone. Even Roon and Moltke thought honor at stake, and that Prussia could not, at the dictation of a foreign potentate, withdraw her troops from a German fortress given to her by the Congress of Vienna. France also cried: "*L'honneur demande la guerre*," the great crash appeared unavoidable; but the Iron Chancellor stood firm, and King William maintained him in his post, and thus saved Prussia from a war. Among their considerations were the following: Even a successful war is a public calamity; they had devoted themselves to the building up a great united Germany, and a war at that time would postpone, if not defeat, their plan; the North German Bund was then in a transition state, not prepared for such a war as it was

universally supposed Napoleon could carry on; moreover, there was a show of right on the side of France. The public clamors, the abuse and threats of the press, weighed as dust in the balance. Bismarck decided for peace.

All his efforts might, nevertheless, have proved unsuccessful, but for a striking circumstance. France was like a city in full conflagration. The War Minister, Niel, the Foreign Minister, Drouyn de l'Huys, the Duke de Gramont, and the Emperor himself, were at the head of the war party, blowing the flames. At a war council, presided over by the Emperor, held in the evening, *instantaneous war* was definitively determined upon. Now was the time to obtain revenge for Königgrätz, etc., etc. It was resolved at once to push forward eighty thousand men into Luxembourg. The enemy was to be surprised and overwhelmed. The high officers of the army were in a rapture of delight, and some already beheld the large fruits of certain financial operations secure in their hand. Field-marshal Niel was to wait upon the Emperor in the morning for his last orders. When that officer came at the appointed hour, he found the Emperor's mind had undergone a complete change. He said, "War is out of the question. France is not yet prepared." His determination was made up. The war was abandoned. What had caused this change? Had he discovered frauds among his military agents? or that a considerable part of the army with which he intended to conquer Prussia existed only on paper?

London Conference, May 7, 1867.

A Conference of European powers, with a view of preventing the war, met in London. It is a pleasure to be able to record a just and wise decision of a European Conference, and signed, however reluctantly, by all parties. The stipula-

tions were as follows: Luxembourg to remain a province of Holland, but neutral territory; its neutrality guaranteed by all the powers; Prussia to withdraw her garrison, and the King of Holland to raze the fortress. That the decision was just, appeared from the fact that none of the parties were contented with it. Napoleon, nevertheless, described it to his people as a magnificent triumph over the humbled Prussia. The Prussian troops at his dictation had retreated. A Prussian fortress was razed to the ground at his word.

How was it with Germany? Nearly every one went on abusing Bismarck, and Bismarck went on quietly and grandly executing his plan. Napoleon had been defeated in his attempt to gain possession of what had once been a German province and fortress, but which certainly had dissolved its connection with Germany. Whatever might be said *pro* and *con*, as to the right under the circumstances of maintaining a Prussian garrison in a Dutch fortress, the insanity of plunging two great nations into a war for such a question became every day more apparent. It is said that, before signing the treaty, Bismarck asked Moltke, in the presence of the Emperor: "Is the fortress particularly indispensable for Germany?" Moltke answered: "No," and the question was settled.

Great World Exposition in Paris, April 1, 1867.

The people of Paris, in 1867, were provided with another great World Exposition.

Demonstration at the grave of Baudin, November 2, 1868.

An ominous circumstance took place in November, 1868. The grave of Charles Baudin, the brave Deputy who, on the morning of the *coup d'état*, had been murdered by the ruffians of Louis Napoleon, was covered with garlands. The police burst in among the

crowd and dispersed them. The newspaper, *Avenir National*, consequently opened a subscription for money to build a monument to Baudin. The government prosecuted the newspaper. A number of lawsuits took place. That was just what the republicans wanted. It brought up the *coup d'état*, with its atrocities, as a subject of re-examination. The city of Paris manifested its sentiments by a demonstration at the grave of Baudin. This demonstration was imitated in the provinces.

Gambetta.

On this occasion first appeared prominently before the public, a young advocate, Léon Gambetta. He improved the opportunity to brand the government, to show the *coup d'état* as a disgrace to France. He stigmatized the Emperor, calling his accomplices the outcasts of mankind. The agitation in Paris was so great, that the Emperor dismissed the Minister of the Interior.

Vermorel.

Another person, Vermorel, in the Assembly, had described the *coup d'état* as a dishonor to France, and the most infamous crime of the century. Among the documents found in the Tuileries, after the deposition of Napoleon, was one, from which it appeared that Napoleon had stopped the mouth of this man with gold.

Election disturbances, May, 1869.

Disturbances broke out (May, 1869) in Paris, Lille, Amiens, Toulouse, Marseilles, St. Etienne on the occasion of the elections, which resulted unfavorably to the government. Strong opponents were elected to the Assembly by three and a half million votes. When we consider the machinery to influence elections, we can not wonder that the Emperor was more and more alarmed. New disturbances in Paris hastened the great event of a free constitution.

Lebœuf, on the death of Marshal Niel, became War Minister. To him was committed the organization of the French army, and he informed the Assembly (July, 1870) that the army was ready for war. We shall see how far this boast was justified. Niel had energetically commenced a great reform, with the view to bring one million two hundred thousand men into the field for a war against Prussia, which he earnestly desired. He had formed a plan of mobilization, and sent an able French officer, Colonel Stoffel, as military Chargé d'Affaires to Berlin, principally to study the Prussian military organization. Stoffel made admirable reports, warning against a war, as Prussia was so thoroughly prepared; but on Niel's death and Lebœuf's appointment as War Minister, the French army fell back into disorder and neglect. After Napoleon's fall, the reports of Stoffel were found in the War Department, the *seals unbroken.* It may be added here, that a new army bill, however shamefully neglected, laid the country under heavy burdens.

Lebœuf, War Minister, August 21, 1869.

Napoleon had now governed about twenty years. Neither Louis XVIII., nor Charles X., nor Louis Philippe, had reigned so long; but the opposition had now reached its height. The elections for the Corps Legislatif, in 1869, frightened the Emperor. The ignorant peasants of the departments were still under his influence, and gave a majority, although less than usual; but in the great cities, Paris, Lyons, etc., the ultra radicals succeeded in electing the most determined enemies of the government and of the Napoleon dynasty. It was declared that the Emperor had cast one hundred and fifty thousand French citizens into prison, and that fifty thousand had been transported

New elections, May, 1869.

to Cayenne and Algeria. The government circles were loudly accused of immense frauds. The Emperor himself was included in these accusations. The indignation excited by the Mexican war was increased by the not disproved charge that the war had been undertaken, partly as a financial operation. The throne was in danger. The people tumultuously demanded their long-promised rights. The prestige of the Crimean and Italian wars was fading away, and left the cruel absolutism undisguised. It is curious to observe the Emperor's shifts to extricate himself from his dilemma; to deceive the people with the appearance of liberty, and to bestow upon them all their rights, without surrendering any of the royal privileges. He dismissed his despotic Minister, Rouher, and appointed another Ministry, equally reactionary. The opposition in the Chamber, headed by Thiers, Ollivier, Jules Favre, Gambetta, and the communist, Rochefort, now uttered such bold threats that the Emperor, constitutionally nervous in the hour of danger, appointed the liberal Ministry Ollivier, and announced at last (at the moment when the nation was about to be carried over the precipice), that the peaceful state of the country enabled him to place France under a liberal parliamentary government.

Pierre Bonaparte.

A comparatively trifling circumstance here came near causing an insurrection in Paris. Pierre Bonaparte, a cousin of the Emperor (son of Lucian), in a private quarrel, shot the editor of a radical newspaper dead. The whole radical party loudly demanded his punishment. He was tried and acquitted by the Supreme Court.

New Ministry.

In the new Parliamentary Ministry were, beside Ollivier (Public Worship and Justice), Buffet (Finance), Lebœuf (War), etc. Some of these had

been bitter enemies; some were Orleanists; some, the Emperor had bought; others, he hoped to buy.

Charge against the Emperor.

Soon after his appointment as Minister of Finance, Buffet resigned his post, giving as a reason his discovery by the books of his department that, for several previous years, the Emperor had annually withdrawn sixty million francs from the army appropriations.

New constitution, April, 1870.

A new constitution, drawn up by Napoleon, was accepted by the Senate in April, 1870. Among the rights bestowed were the following: The Senate to have the right of initiating laws and amendments. The ministers appointed by the Emperor, and responsible (the words *to the Chamber* were omitted). The sittings of the Senate to be public. The Senate to have the unconditional right to reject laws. The constitution to be accepted by a free vote of the people, and subsequently never to be changed but by a *plebiscit*, on the demand of the Emperor.

Plebiscit, May 8, 1870.

The constitution was now laid before the people for their votes. The question submitted was: Would the nation accept the liberal changes in the constitution which the Emperor, with the co-operation of the Chambers, had introduced since 1860? The *plebiscit* had always been a great card of Napoleon, and the country began to form a pretty correct opinion of its true character. It was by a *plebiscit* that the nation had approved the *coup d'état*, and had chosen him President for ten years. It was by a *plebiscit* that he had become Emperor. Without a *plebiscit*, he would not accept Savoy and Nice. When Maximilian hesitated to believe that the Mexican nation had offered him the Imperial throne, it was a French *plebiscit* in

Mexico which removed his doubts. The corruption, to be naturally supposed on all these occasions, was successfully applied in introducing the new liberal constitution. An army of agents, at the expense of the secret fund, swarmed over the whole country, to deceive and frighten the peasants with information of monstrous plots; of the approaching red republic; and whose duty was to threaten some, and bribe others. The result of the *plebiscit* (May 8, 1870) was seven million three hundred and fifty thousand one hundred and forty-two yeas, and one million five hundred and thirty-eight thousand one hundred and twenty-five nays. The last were from Paris and the other great towns. The publication of this vote was followed by great riots in Paris. The constitution was ridiculed. Instead of *liberté, Égalité,* and *fraternité,* France had only *infantry, cavalry, artillery.* Napoleon knew, notwithstanding the seven and a half million majority, that the *plebiscit* had been a failure; that fifty thousand votes of the minority had come from the army and the fleet. He knew that, but for the unscrupulous means by which the election had been forced, the large minority would have been much larger. The increasing opposition clamored for a greater extension of rights. There was no alternative but a new war. Prussia was the government now most hated and feared. A successful war would make all right. The Emperor, Lebœuf, Gramont, and a powerful party, looked to it as the only means of saving themselves. But how to find a pretext?

CHAPTER XXX.

THE WAR OF 1870 TO THE BATTLE OF GRAVELOTTE.

THE result of the *plebiscit* had been published, May 8, 1870. On the 15th, the Duke de Gramont was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs. Gramont, since 1861, had been French Minister in Vienna, for the purpose of effecting an alliance with Austria; and had, no doubt, effected one, depending on contingencies. About the same time, the French journals began to speak angrily of a negotiation between the Spanish Minister, President Prim, and Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern; the object, to place the latter on the vacant Spanish throne. The French Emperor had been informed of this negotiation in November, 1869. The journals went on muttering innuendoes about Leipsic and Sadowa, but the Germans had no thought of war.

Duke de Gramont, Minister of Foreign Affairs, May 15, 1870.

On June 30, 1870, Ollivier declared, in the Legislative Assembly, that peace had never been more secure in Europe than at that moment.

Ollivier, June 30, 1870.

On July 4, General Prim presented the name of Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern to the Cortez as a candidate for the throne.

Spain and Prince Leopold, July 4, 1870.

Here was the pretext. As instantaneously as the electric spark could flash along the wire, the French Minister in Berlin, Count Benedetti, then bathing at Wildbad, in

Würtemberg, was ordered to express, in the name of his government, the painful impression which the candidature of Prince Leopold had made in Paris, and to ask an explanation. Bismarck, Roon, etc., were absent. A secretary informed Count Benedetti truly, that the Prussian government really knew nothing of the affair.

Pretext for war, July 4, 1870.

On the same day, in a personal interview, Gramont and Ollivier communicated to Werther, Prussian Minister in Paris, that the Spanish candidature might lead to war. Werther, without considering, promised to support the demand of the French government for a written apology. On receiving Werther's dispatch, Bismarck instantly recalled him. France considered this another cause of war.

Baron von Werther, July 4, 1870.

The next day, a member of the Legislative Assembly summoned the ministers to explain the meaning of the Spanish candidature.

Interpellation in the Legislative Assembly, July 5, 1870.

Gramont replied, the subsequent day: "France would never permit a foreign government to disturb the balance of power in Europe, to place her interest and honor in peril, to raise a German prince to the Spanish throne, and to revive the Empire of Charles V. Supported by the nation, she would do her duty without weakness and without delay."

Gramont's reply, July 6.

The Assembly received this declaration with bursts of applause. It had been drawn up that same morning at St. Cloud, in a council of ministers, presided over by the Emperor. The strongest points were personally added by Napoleon himself. The evening before, he had been for peace.

There was no reason to consider this candidature a

plan of Prussia. Queen Isabella had been driven from Spain in 1868; and, after a refusal from various other candidates, the throne had been repeatedly offered to Prince Leopold before he accepted. King William, on being consulted, had advised him to decline.

King William, seventy-four years of age, had gone to Ems to seek rest and health. Neither Bismarck, Moltke, Roon, nor any minister, was with him. He had heard, no doubt, the muttering thunder in the horizon, but suspected no stratagem. In the honesty and dignity of his character, he received the French Minister cordially, and Benedetti communicated the threat. The king replied with mildness and great forbearance. His position, as head of the Hohenzollern family, did not give him the right to dictate to the different members in their own affairs. He had already advised Prince Leopold not to accept, but he had no right to command.

Benedetti at Ems, July 9.

Fears of war began to agitate Germany, when Prince Leopold (July 12) renounced his candidature. The only pretext was thus removed. Even Ollivier, even the Emperor Napoleon, expressed themselves satisfied. Even the French journals spoke of the triumph which France had achieved over Prussia; when, by some mysterious power, the flames suddenly broke out again. What had wrought this change? Some say Rome.

Prince Leopold renounces, July 12.

The sending of Benedetti back again to Ems to insult King William, appears to have been resolved at a war council in Paris, presided over by the Emperor. Benedetti was ordered either to extort such humble concessions as would place Napoleon before the French people as a European dicta-

War council in Paris, July 12.

tor; or to surprise the king into expressions which would serve as a pretext for war.

Benedetti in Ems again, July 13.

Benedetti was rejoicing in the belief that his awkward task was ended, when Gramont informed him that the withdrawal of Prince Leopold was no satisfaction for the wounded honor of France. The fact that the King of Prussia *had permitted* a Hohenzollern to accept the candidature without first consulting France, was an insult too great to be passed over. The unfortunate diplomate was commanded to go instantly back to Ems, and tell the king *he must send an apology, written with his own hand, to his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, and a promise that the candidature should never be resumed.* Benedetti was instructed to speak sternly. Back to Ems went Benedetti. On arriving, he met King William on a public promenade. The genial affability and dignity of the monarch rendered it not easy to offer him an insult; yet that was the mission which Benedetti had been ordered to execute. With many bows, and scrapes, and twistings, and turnings, he made the venerable old man at last slowly understand what it was that Napoleon required. He had received Benedetti courteously; but on discovering what the proposition was, he looked at him a moment in astonishment, then turned and walked away.*

* "Da sieht unser Wilhelm Rexe
Sich das klägliche Gewächse
Mit den Königsaugen an.
Sagte gar nichts weiter, sundern
Wandte sich, so dass bewundern
Jener seinen Rücken kann."

It is impossible to translate the humor of this little popular poem, which immediately appeared in print.

"Then our royal William looked upon the vile web with the eyes of a king, said not a word more, but turned and walked away, so that his companion had an opportunity to admire his back."

Benedetti, not daring to return to Paris without an answer, followed the king to his residence, and sent in a request for an interview. An officer of the king's household received him with the utmost courtesy, and stated that his Majesty, not having any thing more to say on the subject, declined another interview. Should his Excellency, the Minister of France, desire further information, he was referred to the Chancellor of the North German Bund.*

The perfect tact with which the king had blended the dignity of a sovereign with the observance of diplomatic formalities, and thus avoided the trap laid for him, called forth universal admiration. Benedetti did not at the time consider himself or his government insulted.

King William returns from Ems to Berlin, July 15.

Immediately after the last interview with Benedetti, King William left Ems for Berlin. His journey through Hesse and Hanover called forth one uninterrupted burst of enthusiasm. At Brandenburg, the Crown-prince, Bismarck, Moltke, and Roon met him, and the first war council was held in the railroad car. As the king passed into Berlin through the Brandenburg gate, the whole town turned out with acclamations. The royal carriage could scarcely pass. The nation thought Prussia had been suddenly sprung upon by a band of brigands. Late in the night, the palace was still surrounded by continually shouting multitudes. At length, the king caused a request to be made that the crowd would disperse, as he had heavy work through the night with the War Minister. The words were lovingly repeated through the

* A square flag-stone was laid on the spot at Ems where the king stood when Count Benedetti addressed him. The Germans call it the "corner-stone of the present German Empire"!

thousands: "The king wants silence"; and in a few moments, silence and solitude fell upon the great frightened city. That night the army of the North German Bund was mobilized, and the Reichstag convoked.

War fever in France.

Benedetti's telegraphic account of his interview with the king had left the war party in Paris still without any reasonable pretext. They soon found one in the fact that the Prussian government (Bismarck) had communicated in very plain terms to the European Cabinets an account of the refusal of the king again to receive Benedetti on the subject of the candidature. They now raised a cry: the French Minister, and through him, the Emperor and nation, had been grossly insulted. France was inflamed to the highest degree by gross misrepresentations. "*France accepts the war which Prussia forces upon her.*" The Emperor had (it was said) concluded an alliance with Bavaria and Würtemberg. The people of Paris and other towns streamed through the streets singing the "*Marseillaise*," and screaming: "*Down with Prussia! Vive la guerre! Leipsic! Waterloo! Sadowa! The French frontier! Coblenz! Mayence!*" etc. Street orators roared themselves hoarse calling for vengeance, and describing the injuries and insults inflicted upon France by Prussia, from the Great Elector and Old Fritz to Blücher and King William I. They little knew what they were shouting for. Their previous wars had been in distant lands: Italy, Russia, Mexico, China. They were now to feel war in their own homes.

Legislative Assembly.

The declaration of war laid before the Legislative Assembly by Ollivier (July 15), was received by nearly all the members with triumphant acclamations, and the appropriations asked

for, were immediately voted with tumultuous haste. Ollivier declared: "*I go into the war with a light heart.*"

Thiers.

About eighty-four members, headed by Thiers, protested. Thiers, continually interrupted by clamorous insults, branded the war as equally frivolous, foolish, criminal, and dangerous. He accused the government of being unfaithful to its trust, of having determined upon a war without cause, and he warned the Assembly and country of the probable result.

Rouher, July 16.

Rouher, President of the Senate, "in the name of the proud, insulted fatherland," expressed his thanks to the Emperor "for the blessings which the Imperial government had bestowed upon the nation," and added his sanguine hopes for the future.

Peaceableness of Germany at the outbreak of the war.

"A warm, glowing summer," says a German writer, "broke over Germany in 1870. The peasant looked forward to a rich harvest. In the towns, every one longed to escape from the dust and heat of the broad, shadowless streets to the cool, grateful woods and mountains. Good friends sat together, and talked over pleasant excursions they intended to make. Maps of the Black Forest, Saxony, Switzerland, lay open on many a table, and the proposed routes were drawn on them with a red pencil. The vacation time had nearly come. In the schoolrooms, the children in imagination raced out beyond the four walls, and reveled in the golden liberty of fields, forests, and mountains.

"Far off in Spain, a Spanish field-marshal was looking about for a king to seat upon the Spanish throne. The Spaniards themselves did not take much interest in that; still less the little boys and girls in the schools of Germany. Some of the elder ones remembered in their

school-books an account of a war of the Spanish succession, and how Prince Eugene had given the French a terrible drubbing. But that was more than a century ago."

France declares war, July 19, 1870.

The envoy of France delivered the declaration of war to Bismarck, July 19, at 1:30 P.M. It was the first official communication on the subject. The following is a translation:

"The government of his Majesty, the Emperor of the French, having regarded the plan to elevate a Prussian prince to the throne of Spain as an enterprise undertaken against the territorial security of France, found it necessary to require from his Majesty, the King of Prussia, the assurance that such a combination should not be carried out with his consent.

"As his Majesty, the King of Prussia, has declined to give this assurance, and, on the contrary, has declared to the *chargé d'affaires* of his Majesty, the Emperor of the French, that, for this eventuality, as well as for any other, he would reserve the right to act according to circumstances, the Imperial government can not but see in this declaration of the king a design equally dangerous to France and to the balance of power in Europe. The declaration is rendered more alarming by the circumstance that the refusal of the king to receive the *chargé d'affaires* of the Emperor, or to enter into any further discussions with him on the subject, was immediately notified to the European Cabinets.

"In consequence of this, it becomes the duty of the French government immediately to adopt measures for the defense of its honor and threatened interests, and, determined for this purpose to seize all the means within its power, the Imperial government considers itself from this moment in a state of war with Prussia.

"The undersigned, etc."

Effect of the declaration of war in Germany.

The declaration of war caused the greatest alarm. The heart of the German people was moved "as the trees of the wood are moved by the wind." The reputation of Napoleon as the man of December, capable of carrying out his plans by any means, struck a vague terror, not diminished by re-

ports of extraordinary fire-arms, the chassepot, on a secret principle; the *mitrailleuse*, which mowed down hundreds at a blow; cannon, carrying twice as far as any other; savage troops; Africans, Turkos, Bedouins, Cabiles, Zouaves; mysterious alliances; in short, it was the opinion of most, that Napoleon and his hordes would soon be in Berlin, and that Germany was about to enter upon a period of oppression, such as she had suffered under the feet of the first Napoleon (1806–1813).

The disastrous effects were immediately felt in social circles and business transactions. Many living in competency were ruined; families were broken apart, and bade farewell to sons, husbands, brothers, and lovers, whom they feared never to see again. On the other hand, says Dr. Zimmermann, persons initiated into the secrets of the Bonaparte government and the Paris Bourse, by bold speculations, suddenly gained millions. Chests filled with gold, belonging to prominent Napoleonists, some weeks later were, it was said, landed on the Island of Jersey.

Real causes of the war.

The Germans, among the other causes of this war, give the following: I. The long-cherished desire of the French to possess the Rhine as a frontier (traced back to the fifteenth century). II. The fixed idea that France was the most powerful and civilized nation, and destined to be master of Europe. This idea, strengthened by Louis XIV., Napoleon I., and Napoleon III., was continually taught by historians, poets, newspaper writers, etc. It involved the necessity of promoting, as far as possible, the dissensions and weaknesses of neighboring governments. III. The uprising of two great powers, Italy and Germany. IV. The defeat of Napoleon's plans to control the war of 1866. V. The battle of Königgrätz (Sadowa). VI. The refusal

by Prussia of compensation as a counterpoise to the increasing Prussian power and territory. VII. The report of an improved musket, superior to the French chassepot, about to be introduced into the North German army. VIII. The conviction of Napoleon that his throne was sinking.

The German army.

So well had the Prussian government read the character of Napoleon, that Moltke had devoted the winter of 1869 to a plan of mobilization, by which, at a moment's notice, all the necessary movements could be made. Every officer could immediately receive instructions already drawn up; each regiment be instantly moved forward, without confusion, to the place of its destination. The post was thus carefully fixed for every man; the hour of his departure, and of his arrival. At the end of July, ten days after the declaration of war, three great German armies, thoroughly equipped and disciplined, inspired with love for king and fatherland, and indignant at the way in which the war had been sprung upon them, stood posted on the banks of the Rhine, resolute and eager for battle. The first at Coblenz, under General von Steinmetz (sixty-one thousand); the second at Mayence, under Prince Frederic Karl (two hundred and six thousand); the third at Mannheim, under the Crown-prince Frederic William (one hundred and eighty thousand), the latter to protect South Germany. Total, four hundred and forty-seven thousand men, with one thousand one hundred and ninety-four cannon. They thus occupied a line of about eighty English miles as a basis of operations They were furnished with all the requisite munitions of war, stores, provisions, medicines, wagons, horses, etc., and upon the six great railroad lines, day and night, huge trains swept

backward and forward, constantly bringing re-inforcements and supplies. From the suddenness of the war declaration, the Germans at first prepared only for defense, and expected to find an immense French army breaking over the frontier; but, on arriving at the Rhine, not a French soldier could be discovered, even with a telescope. A fourth army (ninety thousand), under the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, defended the coast.

The alarm of Germany soon subsided, and the people even at that early hour, began to sing:

"Lieb Vaterland magst ruhig sein,
Fest steht und treu die Wacht am Rhein!" *

The armies consisted of troops from different German States: Bavarians, Prussians, Westphalians, Hanoverians, Saxons, Schleswig-Holsteiners, Badeners, Würtembergers, Hessians, Poles, Nassauers, etc., who, however opposed in the war of 1866, here showed the spirit of union which, notwithstanding all their quarrels, now binds together the German people. The process of fusing together the different tribes, which had commenced under Charlemagne and never been quite completed, seemed now nearer its accomplishment than it had ever been before.

Germany, at that time, had but a small fleet. She will never be caught again so defenseless on the ocean. A plan, however, to protect the coast by batteries, torpedoes, and obstructions in the river mouths, was very successfully carried into effect, so that the French fleet, unable to land, generally did little more than blockade the coast and seize merchant ships.

German fleet.

Napoleon counted on an alliance with the South Ger-

* "Beloved fatherland! rest in peace!
Firm stands, and faithful, the watch on the Rhine."

man States, Italy, Austria, and Denmark; and on an insurrection of all the provinces incorporated into Prussia after the war of 1866. He hoped for the sympathy of and a certain assistance from England. Great dependence was placed upon the *mitrailleuse*, the chassepot, and the black and dark-colored African troops, Turkos, Zouaves, etc., with their fantastic Oriental uniforms, and disorderly, uncivilized habits. In South Germany, an ultramontane party agitated for a French alliance. The treaty of 1866 between the South German States and Prussia, by which King William became commander-in-chief of their military forces, and which had been concluded in view of the present contingency, was declared, by this party, with true Jesuitical reasoning, "inapplicable and therefore invalid."

Napoleon's plan.

The plan of Napoleon was instantly to push forward his army in three groups: one hundred and fifty thousand to Metz; one hundred thousand to Strassburg; fifty thousand to Châlons; the first two suddenly to unite (two hundred and fifty thousand in number), rapidly cross the Rhine at that extreme eastern point of the French frontier which protrudes between Rhenish Bavaria and Baden, and thus cut off the South German States from North Germany. The Southern States then to be persuaded or compelled into an alliance; then, alliances with Italy and Austria; the French to rout the North German army; their fleet to land thirty thousand troops on the coast of the North Sea and the Baltic Sea, in aid of the proposed insurrection in Hanover; the Danish army to descend and occupy Schleswig-Holstein. One brilliant victory, like Austerlitz or Jena, like Magenta or Malakoff, would decide the campaign, and the Emperor would celebrate the great national *fête* (August 15) at Berlin.

Napoleon was not without reasons to hope for success. Italy intended to conclude an alliance, and was prevented only by the rapid advance and immediate victories of the Germans. The Austrian Cabinet, as well as the upper circles, also ardently desired an alliance; but certain considerations compelled it to hesitate. There were nine million Germans in the Empire. Russia, moreover, had declared she would join Prussia should any power form an alliance with France. The Austrian Minister-President, Count Beust, therefore declared the strictest neutrality; but secretly promised that as soon as Austria should be sufficiently armed, he would disregard the Russian threat, and join Napoleon.

The plan failed for various causes. Napoleon did not know the state of his own army. The organization, commenced by Marshal Niel, on the death of that officer, had not been carried further. Every thing was in disorder. When the moment arrived for the sudden invasion of Germany, instead of one hundred and fifty thousand men at Metz, there were only one hundred and thirty thousand; instead of one hundred thousand at Strassburg, there were not fifty thousand, and so on. Not only the number failed; but the troops were not furnished with the necessary supplies. The ministry in Paris was stormed with telegrams demanding bread, hay, oats, cooking utensils, sugar, wagons, tents, etc. There appears to have been a very imperfect plan of campaign. Regiments to be united at one point were often sent away from each other in contrary directions. The French war ministry was not properly acquainted with the strength of the German army. The reader will remember that the dispatches of Colonel Stoffel, military *chargé d'affaires* in Berlin, till 1870, containing full information

and warnings on the subject, were subsequently found in the French War Department with the seals unbroken. That was the reason why, when the German army reached the Rhine, they found not a French soldier.

Another cause. At the moment when several of the European powers were hesitating on the point of an alliance, Bismarck caused to be published in the London *Times* (July 25), the draft of the secret offensive and defensive treaty mentioned in a previous section, proposed by Napoleon in the spring of 1867, and subsequently often pressed upon the Prussian government. It stipulated that if Prussia would permit France to annex Belgium and Luxembourg, France would recognize the annexations (1866) of Prussia, and permit her union with the South German States. The French government denied the authenticity of this document, although it was in the handwriting of Benedetti; but Bismarck brought irrefutable proofs which placed the fact beyond dispute.

The French army was at last advanced in the following order:

The first corps, under Marshal MacMahon, to Strassburg.

The second, under General de Failly, to Bitsch.

The third, under Mashal Bazaine, to Metz.

The fourth, under General Ladmirault, to Diedenhofen (Thionville).

The reserve consisted of the corps of Marshal Canrobert, at Châlons; that of General Douay, at Belfort; and the guard, under General Bourbaki, at Nancy.

On July 28, Napoleon appointed the Empress Eugenie regentess, and left the Tuileries for the field as commander-in-chief, to measure himself with King William.

He took with him his son Lulu, an interesting little fellow of fourteen, that he might show him some of the operations of war, and, as he said, cause him "to receive his baptism of fire." Neither father nor son ever saw the Tuileries again.

Eugenie regentess of France, July 28.

As it very soon appeared that the majority of the corps were not ready for war, the plan of invading Germany was abandoned, and the French took a defensive position.

As the two sovereigns approached the battle-field, each published a proclamation. That of Napoleon (Metz, July 28) was, in substance, as follows: He had assumed the command of his army, and unfolded again the glorious banner, which had already once borne through Europe the civilizing ideas of the great French Revolution. It had become necessary for France to resist Prussia's thirst for conquest and annexation. The immense war preparations of that power had awakened distrust, and transformed Europe into a military camp. A great people defending a just cause, is irresistible. He was about to lead the army into Germany. They would there behold the glorious footsteps of their fathers. Freedom and civilization depended upon their success. The God of Battles would be with them.

Napoleon's proclamation, Metz, July 28.

King William (July 27) issued the following proclamation: "To my people. I go to the battle-field, lifting my eyes to the omnipotent God, and calling for His almighty support. From my youth to this day, I have learned the certainty that every thing depends upon the gracious help of God. My trust is in Him, and I call upon my

Proclamation of King William to the nation, July 27.

people to trust in Him also. I bend before the God of mercy, and surely my subjects and countrymen will bend with me. I appoint a special and universal day of prayer, with the worship of God in the churches, and, as far as the pressing necessity of the time permits, during that day, the cessation of public business, work, and labor. At the same time, I order that, during the war, special prayers shall be offered up in all the churches, praying that God in this conflict may lead us to victory, that He may bestow upon us the spirit to act also as Christians against our enemies, and that He may mercifully bless us with a peace which will permanently guarantee the honor and independence of Germany."

Thus these two great nations, each in its own spirit, submitted their quarrel to what is called the arbitrament of the sword.

Proclamation to the army, August 2.

On August 2, from his head-quarters, Mayence, King William issued a proclamation to the army: "I this day take command of the whole army, and enter with confidence upon a conflict in which our fathers have already before been gloriously victorious. God the Lord will be with us in our righteous cause."

First battle, Saarbrück, Aug. 2.

Bazaine now commanded at Metz, MacMahon at Strassburg. The people of Paris, from the assurances of the authorities, had expected long ago a great victory. In consideration of their impatience, Napoleon determined to begin. In the little town of Saarbrück, in Rhenish Prussia, about half an hour's walk from the French frontier, stood a German battalion and three squadrons of cavalry with four cannon, under the command of the First-lieutenant Pestel, in all one thousand men. By Napoleon's orders, Froissard,

with an immensely superior force, attacked this place (August 2). Pestel knew, of course, he must retreat, but determined not to do so without a fight. He held the town three hours, and then retreated in perfect order. Napoleon himself appeared on the battle-field with Lulu, who, under his father's direction, applied the match to the first *mitrailleuse* fired. The murderous instrument did not touch a man, and the company against whom it had been directed, waving their helmets in the air, gave three thundering cheers for King William. Each side lost a considerable number of killed and wounded. It was less a battle than a skirmish. When Froissard entered the town and learned from the burgomaster how small the German force had been, he said: "Tell the soldiers, I regard each one of them as a hero."

It does not appear quite certain that Napoleon himself actually crossed the frontier; but the French occupied the town some hours without attempting to penetrate farther into Germany.

The news flew to Paris along the wire, and set the town in a blaze of triumph: First victory! French army in Germany! A great German fortress stormed! Triumphal entry of the Emperor and Froissard into Saarbrück! A whole Prussian army corps cut to pieces by the *mitrailleuse*, or taken prisoner, or put to flight! Prussian Crown-prince taken prisoner, or wounded, or dead! Saarbrück the first station! We shall soon reach the last—Berlin! Great illuminations in Paris, flags out of every window, etc., etc. The Emperor telegraphed to the Empress: "Lulu has received the baptism of fire. Amid a shower of bullets, he discharged the first *mitrailleuse* with terrible effect. He picked up a bullet which fell at his feet. As the grenadiers beheld his perfect

coolness, they shed tears." We are often reminded of a letter which Mazzini once addressed to the Emperor: "Sire, since the creation of the world, no sovereign has lied like your Majesty!" It was a peculiarity of the German reports that they nearly always underestimated the importance of their victories.

The victory of Saarbrück was the only triumph of Napoleon. He was now himself to receive the "baptism of fire." After the victory, Napoleon retired into the fortress of Metz. Three heavy disappointments had already fallen upon him: England had declared Belgium inviolable. Not a European power accepted his offers of alliance, and the South German States, instead of allies, were active enemies. It had not been a happy thought of the Emperor seeking alliances with the European powers, to flaunt in their faces the "glorious banner which had once borne through Europe the civilizing ideas of the great French Revolution." King William had a personal conversation with the Emperor Alexander II. of Russia, his nephew and friend. Napoleon III., like his uncle, had rather flirted with the Poles. Russia was not very ready to go with him, and Holland, Denmark, Italy, and Austria thought twice before they did any thing to produce an alliance between Russia and Germany. What might have taken place had the first victories been on the side of the French, it would be useless to conjecture.

Battle of Weissenburg, Aug. 4.

A division of MacMahon's army, under General Douay, was strongly intrenched at Weissenburg, a fortified town on French ground near the Bavarian frontier, about thirty-four miles from Strassburg, surrounded by walls and ditches, and behind it, the height Geisberg, also strongly fortified.

On discovering that the French had abandoned the plan of invasion, the division of the German army under the Crown-prince Frederic William, was ordered to advance against Weissenburg. The battle lasted from nine till two. The inferiority in number of the French was in some degree counterbalanced by the strength of their position. After a fierce street battle, the French were forced out of the town, back to the Geisberg, and thither followed by the Prussians and Bavarians. The Geisberg was steep and supposed to be impregnable. German battalions advanced several thousand steps amid showers of bullets from chassepots and cannon. The height was stormed, and the enemy driven back. The French lost, beside one thousand prisoners, twelve hundred dead and wounded. The Germans lost fifteen hundred dead and wounded. The French General Douay was killed. The renowned Turkos, many of them born Africans, took an active part in this battle, and the "Northern barbarians" had an opportunity to see how the "civilizing ideas" would have been carried into Germany, had the victory been on the side of the French. This first victory, and that on French ground, was hailed by the German people with grateful enthusiasm.

Battle of Woerth, August 6.

Two days after Weissenburg, the crown-prince (August 6) advanced to meet MacMahon. That able general perceiving that not Berlin, but Paris, was in danger, and that he had not troops enough to attack the crown-prince, chose a strong defensive position at the small town of Woerth, on French ground, near Weissenburg. He had only forty-five thousand men; but his position was apparently impregnable; hills, forests, steep acclivities planted with batteries, open and concealed. The brave soldier hoped here to cheer

his country with the news of an old-fashioned French victory. He was the ablest general in the French service. The crown-prince's force was far superior in number and in discipline. He had also with him the distinguished General Blumenthal.

The battle commenced early in the morning, and lasted fifteen hours. The French fought with a determination which recalled the brightest pages of their history. The Prussians, Bavarians, and Würtembergers fought their way up steep acclivities blazing with batteries. Most nobly the French maintained their position, and most nobly the Germans continued their attack. In the town, each house was a fortress; house after house was stormed, and every inch of the way disputed. But the Germans steadily advanced, and the French were slowly forced back. The renowned *mitrailleuses* were silenced by the superior German artillery. In the afternoon, MacMahon made his last charge. Two divisions of cuirassiers, men of the largest size, in glittering heavy armor and mounted on powerful horses, reserved, like the Imperial Guard at Waterloo, for the decisive moment, were launched against the enemy. They also knew their duty was to save a lost battle. Their charge formed the culminating point of the day. They swept forward, broke the ranks of the crown-prince, and inflicted heavy loss; but the thinned Prussian ranks were immediately replenished, the broken lines reformed, and the fire renewed with terrible effect, till these splendid cuirassiers, about two thousand men, every moment fewer and fewer in number, mutilated, blown, and cut to pieces, at last went down in the battle, and, except about one hundred and fifty, totally disappeared. Their commander was struck with delirium. MacMahon, as he gave the word to retreat, on being

asked: "Where are your cuirassiers?" wildly replied, "Cuirassiers! What cuirassiers? I have no cuirassiers." With his shattered army, the brave soldier retreated to Nancy and Châlons. His flight was so rapid, that he escaped the hot pursuit. Here an honest Würtemberg soldier made the remark: "*Mer kann's schier nit verreite, so laufet se.*" ("They run on foot so fast that our horses can not overtake them.") The roads and fields were covered for miles with weapons, knapsacks, saddles, munitions, and other objects lost or cast away. The Germans took MacMahon's carriage, all his documents, three hundred and sixty thousand francs in gold, also his tent, containing, among other objects, many articles of luxury, ladies' dresses, etc., recalling the flying army of Rossbach, in the time of Old Fritz.

These discoveries caused much merriment; but there were others which filled the eyes of the bravest soldiers and bitterest enemies with tears. The body of a French officer was found, the dead hand grasping the following letter:

"My dear Papa!—Since thy absence, I have thought of thee continually. It makes me sad that I can not, as usual, see thee every morning, and kiss thee. O, I hope God will preserve thy life, and that thou wilt soon return, and press thy daughter in thy arms. I am very good that I may console mamma a little for thy absence. Farewell, dear beloved papa! I give thee the tenderest kiss.

"Thy little, most loving, Margaret."

The victory was an important one. It placed Alsace permanently in the hands of the Germans. It dispersed all fear. It was, however, dearly bought, ten thousand one hundred and fifty-three dead and wounded; among them, four hundred and eighty-nine officers. The French lost, also, about eight thousand, beside nine thousand

prisoners, half of them Turkos and Zouaves, thirty-three cannon, one eagle, a number of *mitrailleuses*, and the whole baggage. MacMahon ascribed his disaster to the superior numbers of the crown-prince, and to the fact that General de Failly could not reach the ground in time.

Battle of Spicheren (Saarbrück), August 6.

After his first skirmish at Saarbrück, General Froissard had intrenched himself on the adjoining Heights of Spicheren, in a position considered impregnable. The French officers laughed when they saw the preparations to storm. On the morning of the 6th, a German force, under General von Goeben, appeared at the base, and immediately began the ascent. Batteries, cannon, *mitrailleuses*, chassepots, poured down upon them a storm of death. The number of killed, among them General François, was unusually great. In some of the bodies were found five bullets. For many hours, the ascent was impossible. During these hours, the courage of the bravest nearly gave way, when the voice of a soldier was heard: "*Det wird ja hier ordentlich lebensjefaehrlich, wenn es laenger so fortjeht!*" ("If it goes on much longer in this way, we shall be in danger of our lives.") The remark was received with peals of laughter, and the troops pressed forward with new resolution. At six in the evening, Prussian cannon, with great labor drawn up upon a neighboring height, began to play upon the enemy. The intrenchments were stormed, and, late in the evening, Froissard ordered a retreat, which would have been a rout, but for the coming on of night. The French loss was three hundred and twenty killed, sixteen hundred and sixty wounded, and two thousand one hundred prisoners. The German loss was eight hundred and fifty killed, and four

thousand wounded. King William, some days after, upon personally viewing the Heights of Spicheren, said to the soldiers: "But, children, it is absolutely impossible for any troops to fight their way up these heights." "Quite true, your Majesty," replied a soldier; "it was, indeed, impossible. Nevertheless, we did it." ("*Moeglich war's freilich nicht, aber 'rauf sind wir doch.*")

The reader will remark, the battles of Woerth and Spicheren took place on the same day.

The rejoicings in Germany were all the greater from the previous alarm.

News in Paris.

In Paris, the news of Weissenburg, Woerth, and Spicheren was more terrible, from the fact that it had been preceded (a speculation swindle) by false intelligence of victories. On August 5, the town was in a frenzy of triumph. MacMahon and Bazaine had defeated the army of the crown-prince, two hundred and fifty thousand prisoners. The crown-prince killed (again), forty thousand Prussians killed. The fortress of Landau taken by storm, MacMahon marching on to Frankfort. At last came the truth. Even the *Moniteur* published it, although in the mildest form. The Emperor telegraphed the retreat was in perfect order, and every thing would yet be well. The public frenzy of delight, however, had changed to a frenzy of rage against the Ministry and the Emperor. The Northern barbarians would soon be in Paris. Ollivier was besieged in his house by an immense crowd. "*Down with the Cabinet! Down with Ollivier! Down with Gramont!*" Ollivier promised that for the future every telegram, without exception, should be immediately published. But this promise was of no use, as his Cabinet was broken up, and his successor, Palikao, went on with the old system of con-

cealment. The Empress called a Council of Ministers. Paris was declared in a state of siege. The Chambers were convoked. The public demanded that Trochu or Changarnier should be Minister-President. Great mobs collected at different points, particularly the boulevards. Shops were broken into. The Legislative Assembly met on August 9, the building besieged by an immense multitude. In the legislative hall itself reigned the greatest tumult. Poor Ollivier gave a short account of the defeats. He was interrupted by shrieks and insults, just as Thiers had been when he branded the government as plunging the country into an unjust and perilous war. Ollivier, who had first assured that the peace of Europe had never been more secure, and who had boasted that he entered into the war with a light heart, now had to confront the storm as well as he could. "Not one of our fortresses," he cried, "is in the hands of our enemy. We have no reason to be discouraged. Paris can defend herself. She has four hundred and fifty thousand men capable of bearing arms, and with the National Guard, we dispose of two million soldiers!" He was interrupted by cries of indignation. Jules Favre demanded that the Cabinet should retire, and give place to capable men. The whole Cabinet, Gramont, Ollivier, Lebœuf, resigned, and General Palikao, seventy-three years old, was appointed to form a new Cabinet.

Cabinet Palikao.

The Cabinet Palikao consisted of Bonapartists (David Duvernois, etc.). They exercised a kind of directorial power. Under the pressure of public opinion, they communicated to the Emperor the wish that he would appoint Bazaine commander-in-chief in his place, and that he would not himself return to Paris, but leave the Empress regentess. A strong public

cry arose: "The Emperor must abdicate!" The Cabinet saved him for the moment; but it was clear that a new defeat would be the death-knell of the Empire.

Sixty thousand Germans resided in France. The Cabinet issued a decree that these should immediately leave the country. This decree was executed with cruelty. Aged people, invalids, mothers with new-born babes, all must go. Property must be sold, when selling was throwing it away.

Expulsion of the Germans.

After the three battles of Weissenburg, Woerth, and Spicheren, abandoning all thought of invading Germany, the French retreated toward the Mosel. The Cabinet and military leaders were at a loss what to do. The greatest efforts were made to recruit new troops. Free-corps were formed. Every man in France between twenty-five and thirty-five was called to arms, even those who had been legally freed from military service. A great new army was formed for MacMahon at Châlons, and in obedience to the request of the Cabinet, the Emperor resigned and appointed in his place, Bazaine as commander-in-chief of the entire army. The force of MacMahon was strengthened by the wrecks of the already defeated armies.

Battles around Metz, August 14, 16, 18.

The plan of Bazaine was now to march with the chief army, two hundred thousand men, join MacMahon at Châlons, and there, strengthened by re-inforcements from Paris, and by a general rising in France, to deliver a new battle. The plan of the German army was to prevent the junction and to keep Bazaine in Metz. In the accomplishment of this purpose, three great battles were fought—Courcelles, Mars-la-Tour (Vionville), and Gravelotte (St. Privat).

On August 14, Bazaine began to move his army out

of Metz. The Germans at that place were commanded to prevent his advance, or, at least, to delay it at any cost, in order to give time for the arrival of Prince Frederic Karl. They therefore attacked. The battle was a severe one. Loss of the French, four thousand; of the Germans, five thousand. Although the latter were inferior in number, the advance of the French was prevented.

Battle of Courcelles (Colombey-Nouilly), August 14.

Napoleon and his little son had accompanied Bazaine out of Metz, for the purpose of reaching Châlons. But, as the movement of the troops was slow, the Emperor and his son, almost alone, separated from the force and took advantage of a railroad train. He found only a third-class carriage. Châlons is about seventy English miles, as the bird flies, from Metz, and much longer by rail. It was August 15, the birthday of Napoleon I., which Napoleon III. had always caused to be celebrated with the greatest splendor, and on which day, the French war-party had declared the army would make a triumphal entry into Berlin. It must have appeared strange to Napoleon, with the Imperial prince, to be traveling in a third-class carriage, without any protection, in constant danger of being taken prisoner, either by the enemy or by his own countrymen. On desiring to wash his face, he could be supplied only with a tumbler of water, and a pocket-handkerchief for a towel.

Napoleon and Lulu, Aug. 15.

On the next day, Bazaine's troops came into contact with the first battalions of Prince Frederic Karl. Bazaine here personally exposed himself to the heaviest fire. The battle of Courcelles had prevented his advance and given Prince Frederic Karl time to come up with a part of his army,

Battle of Mars-la-Tour (Vionville), Aug. 16.

and the battle of Mars-la-Tour forced him to a longer delay, and gave the Germans time to concentrate a still greater force. The soldiers punned on the word, Mars-la-Tour, and called the battle *Marsch retour.*

The battle of Mars-la-Tour was one of the bloodiest in the whole war. The Germans fought against double their number. The loss on each side was about sixteen thousand killed and wounded. Its strategic importance was very great. The advance of Bazaine toward Verdun and Châlons and the junction with MacMahon were prevented, and he was obliged to take a defensive position very near Metz, at Gravelotte and St. Privat.

Now had come the decisive moment. If Bazaine could break through the German force and join MacMahon, he could deliver a battle with a chance of victory. He had under him, at Metz, the *élite* of the army, infantry and cavalry, two hundred thousand men, five hundred cannon, one hundred and fifty *mitrailleuses.* His position at Gravelotte and on the heights of St. Privat (one thousand feet high) was very strong. Here he believed himself impregnable, and here the stag stood at bay. Bourbaki, with the Imperial Guard, Canrobert, Lebœuf, Froissard, fought under him in this battle, and were stationed at or near points bearing singularly suggestive names: Moscow, Leipsic, La Folie. The French were excited by the certainty of destruction in case of defeat, and by the hope that a victory would enable them to revenge themselves upon and annihilate their enemy. The Germans had united all their disposable forces at this point. On August 18, King William, Bismarck, Moltke, and Roon, appeared on the field at Gravelotte. The king here personally directed the battle, from which it is

Battle of Gravelotte (St. Privat, Rezonville), August 18.

sometimes called the king's battle. Under him, Prince Frederic Karl commanded on one side, and General Steinmetz on the other. The long-expected Pomeranians had not yet arrived. The battle began at noon, and raged all day without them. At five in the afternoon, Bazaine was sure of success. His troops were triumphantly breaking through the German lines. The earnestly desired Pomeranians had not yet arrived. Moltke rode anxiously up and down, inspecting with his glass the way they were to come. At length, they came, and with long and loud hurrahs, shouting: "Forward for God, king, and fatherland!" were led into the battle. The almost triumphant French were again driven back. Their retreat became a disorderly flight, till once more safe within the walls of Metz.

King William, on perceiving the impetuous advance of the French, had been with difficulty withheld by his officers from exposing himself to the fire, at the head of his troops. Some bombs exploded near him.

While this was going on at Gravelotte, a fierce and decisive struggle was taking place at the heights of St. Privat (about three English miles distant from Gravelotte). Strenuous efforts had been made to dislodge the French from their almost impregnable intrenchments. The magnificent Prussian Guard, under Prince August of Würtemberg, stormed again and again in vain. From house-top, window, garden, wall, the murderous cannon, *mitrailleuses*, chassepots, bomb-shells thinned their ranks and emptied many a saddle. At length, the Saxons, under the Crown-prince Albert (now King of Saxony), came to their aid. Every house, as at Woerth, was a fortress, and every fortress was stormed. From wall to wall, from house to house, the brave French were forced farther

and farther back. The Prussians and Saxons met at last on the heights, amid the burning houses, greeted each other with triumphant hurrahs, and took possession of the intrenchments at last evacuated by the enemy.

At the end of the day, Moltke rode up to the king and said: "Your Majesty, the victory is complete. The enemy is flying into the fortress." Long and loud were the shouts of the Germans. The French could no more think of a junction with MacMahon; a magnificent victory at Châlons or Paris; a treaty dictated at Berlin.

The German loss was, killed, three hundred and twenty-eight officers, four thousand nine hundred men; wounded, five hundred and seventy-one officers, fourteen thousand men (this included the loss of the Guard, namely, killed and wounded, three hundred and seven officers, seven thousand nine hundred men). The French loss was thirteen thousand men.

At Gravelotte occurred a striking incident. As the trumpet called a new cavalry charge, three hundred riderless horses, some wounded, whose masters had fallen, wheeled into their places and charged with the rest.

Burial of the dead, Aug. 19.

On the day after the battle, from 2 P.M. till 12 at night, the hours were devoted to burying the dead. Officers and troops formed a great silent circle to behold the bodies of between five and six thousand of their countrymen and companions lowered into the grave. A field-chaplain held a short discourse upon the text, 2 Samuel, i. 19: "The beauty of Israel is slain upon thy high places: how are the mighty fallen!" How many brave comrades were being consigned to the dust; sons, brothers, husbands, fathers, the bone and muscle of the nation; anxiously waited for at home; the beauty of Israel! how are the mighty fallen!

From time to time the bands played mournfully one of the grand old German chorals; now, *Jesus meine Zuversicht;* now, *Ich weiss, dass mein Erloeser lebt;* now, *Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott*, etc. Tears rolled down the cheeks of soldiers and officers.

As the last body disappeared, the bands played the national song; and far and wide the solemn voices of the thousands were heard through the night:

> "Lieb Vaterland! kannst ruhig sein,
> Fest steht und treu die Wacht am Rhein."

Remarks on the battle of Gravelotte (St. Privat).

Gravelotte was not only a great but a decisive battle. In fact, the three battles, Courcelles, Mars-la-Tour, and Gravelotte, formed but one. It had been, as we have seen, the plan of Napoleon to launch an irresistible force across the Rhine, separate the Northern from the Southern States, and thus cut Germany in two. His plan had failed, and the Germans had now succeeded in doing exactly the same thing in France. The plan had been executed in a most masterly manner, but at a heavy sacrifice. In the three battles, the French loss was thirty-three thousand; the German, forty-one thousand. But the strongest army of France was thus imprisoned in one of her own strongest fortresses, and one not furnished with supplies for so large an army. Prince Frederic Karl remained, with a sufficient force to hold Bazaine fast, till famine should compel a surrender.

Three almost impregnable fortresses remained in the hands of the French—Metz, Strassburg, and Paris. The victory was of as great historical importance as that of Austerlitz. The latter destroyed the old German Empire. The former called up a new German Empire in its place.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE WAR OF 1870—CONTINUED.

FROM THE BATTLE OF GRAVELOTTE TO THE END OF THE WAR.

WHERE was MacMahon? After the destruction of his army at Woerth, he had, as we have seen, retreated to the fortified town of Châlons, and there commenced the formation of a new army, which, in the last days of August, had increased to one hundred and twenty-five thousand infantry and twelve thousand cavalry. Among his troops were many undisciplined reinforcements from Paris, of the lowest order, who became almost ungovernable when they discovered that Napoleon (coming from Metz) had arrived at the camp of Châlons. After Gravelotte, MacMahon's position was critical. It was his own opinion, and that of Trochu, that his right course was to hasten to Paris, and there, backed by the Paris troops, the fortifications, and the resources of the metropolis, to deliver a new battle. But Palikao ordered him to do exactly what, as the result proved, he ought not to have done, namely, attempt to cut his way back to Metz, and there relieve Bazaine. We have already referred to the position of a good general obliged to obey the orders of a bad one. MacMahon turned his army away from Paris, knowing that he was leading it to destruction, and that he was leaving the metropolis without the necessary

Where was MacMahon?

protection. He had been, at last, strengthened also by re-inforcements from Africa, under General Wimpffen.

Napoleon also desired to return to Paris, but the Cabinet Palikao repeated their prohibition. They and the Empress feared for his life from the furious Paris populace. Palikao telegraphed to MacMahon: "Whatever you do, bring not back the Emperor to Paris; that would cause a revolution." Bazaine had written MacMahon his intention to go as far north as Sedan (after breaking out from Metz), should he find the south roads too strongly occupied.

Napoleon.

The position, therefore, immediately before the battle of Sedan was this. MacMahon, with Napoleon, was near Sedan; but Bazaine was still held a prisoner in Metz. The Crown-princes of Prussia and Saxony were following close upon MacMahon. King William, with Bismarck, Moltke, and Roon, was also rapidly moving north. The object of all was to overtake, surround, and destroy MacMahon's army. Neither of the German commanders had the least idea that Napoleon was with MacMahon.

Position just before the battle of Sedan.

On August 28, MacMahon had reached Mouzon-on-the-Meuse, nine miles from Sedan. The crown-prince was now so near that his foremost division had already engaged in several skirmishes with the rear of MacMahon's army. At this moment, MacMahon received intelligence that Failly had been routed by the Crown-prince Albert of Saxony, at Beaumont, in his immediate neighborhood, and had retreated toward Sedan, with a loss of three thousand men and twenty-seven cannon.

Battle of Beaumont, Aug. 30.

Disasters followed fast, and followed faster. The next day, MacMahon learned that, at Noisseville, a desperate

attempt of Bazaine to break out of Metz, and cut his way to Sedan, had been defeated by General von Manteuffel.

Battle of Noisseville, Aug. 31.

MacMahon, equally disappointed in his hopes of re-inforcements from Bazaine and Failly, and of being able, in case of need, to cross the Belgian frontier, concentrated his force at Sedan, a fortified town near the Belgian frontier. He could there best meet the two hundred and fifty thousand men (eight hundred cannon) closing around him. Napoleon now sent his little son across the Belgian frontier, with instructions to repair to a palace in England, a short distance from London. He himself entered Sedan with MacMahon. Why did he not accompany his son across the Belgian frontier? A French general writes on this point: "It would have been easy for the Emperor to save himself at Mezières, a strongly fortified town, where his person would have been in safety; but he would not abandon the army." On August 31, he issued a new, encouraging proclamation to the troops.

The army of MacMahon now, beside twelve thousand cavalry, consisted of about one hundred and forty thousand, of whom many were the refuse of Paris, a demoralized mob, in the field shunning the duties of a soldier, and seeking only the sensual life of the metropolis. This was the army which Palikao had ordered to cut its way to Bazaine. It was with this army that MacMahon had to meet the two hundred and fifty thousand disciplined German troops, and upon which Napoleon, in his darkest hour, depended for his throne and life. The battle commenced early on the morning of September 1. MacMahon was almost immediately wounded, and ceded his command, first, to Du-

Battle of Sedan, September 1.

crot, and then to the elder General Wimpffen. The battle raged furiously the whole day and till late in the evening. The heights around the town were gradually planted with German artillery. The German troops advanced victoriously from all sides, notwithstanding the brilliant charges of MacMahon's cavalry. At three P.M., the French were completely encompassed. The whole army now crowded into the town, infantry, cavalry, with all the medley of brutal, drunken blackguards, screaming, struggling, cursing, swearing, as they pressed through the narrow gates. The Germans from the heights began a bombardment. Several conflagrations broke out at different points of the town.

Napoleon in the crisis.

Greek and Roman poetry and history, indeed the history of mankind, do not present a more striking drama than the story of Napoleon III. We see unprincipled ambition disappointed and punished by a higher power. From the first German victory, Napoleon's position had become more and more terrible. A tormenting malady rendered him still less able to endure the shocks, so rapidly increasing in number and intensity. Weissenburg, Woerth, Spicheren, Courcelles, Mars-la-Tour, Gravelotte, had fallen like thunder-bolts, destroyed the Empire, and transformed the "savior of society" into a despised fugitive, more afraid of his own countrymen than of the enemy. In the fierce and desperate battle which, till late in the night, raged around Sedan, he lost all hope, and wandered about the field for several hours, vainly seeking a bullet to end his life. Wimpffen proposed, with a few reliable troops, to cut their way to Belgium. This Napoleon declined. The latter then drew out a white flag. But Wimpffen, a stern old soldier, respectfully put it from him.

SIEGE OF SEDAN.—General Reille delivering Napoleon's Letter to King William.

The white flag.—Napoleon surrenders his sword, September 1.

Wimpffen was soon called away to his duties. Napoleon, in his absence, drew out the white flag again, and sent it to the wall. On being informed of the white flag, King William, who had taken a position on one of the adjoining heights, sent a *parlementaire*, Colonel Bronsart, to demand the surrender. Bronsart soon returned, accompanied by the French General Reille, wounded, supported by a cane, and bearing in his hand a letter. King William stood, surrounded by the crown-prince, Bismarck, Moltke, Roon, and other officers. General Reille respectfully approached with his head uncovered. The king, with courteous and genuine kindness, greeted him first, and expressed his sympathy for the sufferings of the French army. There was no triumph. His Majesty then said: "My first condition is, the army must lay down their arms." General Reille stated, to the extreme astonishment of all present, that the Emperor was himself in Sedan, and had honored him with a letter. The king opened and read:

"SIRE, MY BROTHER!—As I have not been able to die at the head of my army, I place my sword in your Majesty's hand. I am your Majesty's good brother, NAPOLEON."

After a short consultation with the crown-prince, Bismarck, Moltke, and Roon, the king sat down on a chair, and wrote (upon another chair, which one of his officers held up as a table) the following letter:

"MY BROTHER!—Regretting the circumstance under which I again meet your Majesty, I accept the sword, and beg you to name one of your officers authorized to conclude the capitulation of the army, which has so bravely fought under your command. On my side, I have named General von Moltke.

"I am your Majesty's good brother, WILLIAM.

"BEFORE SEDAN, September 1, 1870."

This was, indeed, an "apology in the king's own hand-writing"; but not the one which the Emperor and Gramont had demanded.

When General Reille left, the king shook him kindly and respectfully by the hand. The crown-prince, Bismarck, Moltke, Roon, did the same. But on his way back to Sedan, the general could hear the long, loud, and increasing shouts of the German army, already made acquainted with the wonderful news, flying like wild-fire over the field.

Before the capitulation.

Moltke and Wimpffen immediately met to arrange the terms of the capitulation. Bismarck was present in case of political questions. The consultation lasted till one in the morning (of September 2). Wimpffen earnestly strove for the privilege of retreating to Belgium. Moltke conceded nothing, but gave eight hours for consideration. Wimpffen returned into the fortress and held a council of war, which decided, thirty against two, that further resistance was impossible.

Loss at Sedan.

The Germans lost, in this battle, killed, one hundred and ninety officers and two thousand eight hundred and thirty-two men; wounded, two hundred and eighty-two officers and five thousand six hundred and twenty-seven men. The French lost, killed, three thousand; wounded, fourteen thousand, and twenty-one thousand prisoners. Thousands escaped over the Belgian frontier.

Napoleon, Sept. 2.

Napoleon did not wait the result of the war council. He left Sedan at five in the morning (September 2), in an open carriage, accompanied by Reille and several adjutants. He first met Bismarck in consultation at the humble house of a common la-

borer. Here, in a little room, the great statesman and the fallen Emperor had an hour's conversation, sometimes in the hut and sometimes walking up and down before the door. Bismarck then conducted Napoleon to the small Château of Bellevue, in the neighborhood, where the interview with King William was to take place. Napoleon, by a personal interview with the king, hoped to procure better terms; but this hope, like all his hopes since the commencement of the war, was almost immediately cut off. An officer arrived with the information that his Majesty would receive the Emperor only after the capitulation had been signed.

Capitulation, Sept. 2, 1870.

The terms of the capitulation were as follows: Town, citadel, and entire army to be surrendered, without conditions. Prisoners of war: The Emperor Napoleon; one marshal (MacMahon); thirty-nine generals; two hundred and thirty staff officers; two thousand three hundred other officers; eighty-four thousand men; ten thousand horses; seventy *mitrailleuses;* four hundred field-pieces; one hundred and thirty-nine fortress cannon; all the flags and eagles.

It was a singular sight which the writer, among many others, witnessed—the countless railroad trains continually arriving in Berlin, crowded with French prisoners just from the great battle-fields. These men were encouraged by the assurances that the Germans were not barbarians, thirsting for revenge, but a civilized, Christian people, without any hatred against their conquered enemies, and that they would extend to prisoners the kindest treatment possible. To the question: "To what do you ascribe your losses?" they answered: "To our bad officers." A writer says the great Rhine army saw that river only when borne across it as prisoners. The higher officers

were released on parole. It is a pain to add that some of these, among others, Thibaudin, violated their pledge. Thibaudin subsequently became French War Minister.

Napoleon as war prisoner.

Napoleon remained waiting in the Château of Bellevue from 11 in the morning till 2 in the afternoon. There was not the remotest idea of offering him a mark of disrespect. The king was at Donchery, about three miles distant, waiting the conclusion of the capitulation. After the signatures had been affixed, and Moltke had read the capitulation to him, the king hastened to Bellevue, and the interview took place. The two sovereigns remained together about fifteen minutes, quite alone, in a private room. There are different versions of the conversation. Whatever it may have been, it caused Napoleon to shed tears. With characteristic delicacy, the king invited him to take up his residence in the magnificent palace of Wilhelmshöhe, at Cassel. Napoleon commenced his journey the following morning (September 3), in heavy floods of rain. The party filled several carriages.

So the Empire of the *coup d'état* fell; only one of the closing scenes of the great drama. The events group themselves with singular picturesqueness. Napoleonism in France surrenders its glittering sword to the son of Frederic William III., over whom the first Napoleon had domineered with such merciless insolence. King William, as a victor, is on his way to Versailles, there to dictate terms of surrender to the mighty France of Louis XIV. and Napoleon I.; while Napoleon III., in his lowest depth of humiliation, dethroned, and a war prisoner, is glad to take refuge from his own people, in a German palace called Wilhelmshöhe (William's Height).

In advance of the narrative, we here follow Napoleon

till his death. He was treated in Wilhelmshöhe with courtesy and sympathy, and supplied with every luxury, as if he had been a member of the Prussian royal family. He here issued a proclamation. It was the cry of a broken-hearted man; but not of one who had learned to know himself. He said: "Bent beneath the weight of so many bitter experiences and of so many wrongs, he did not feel inclined to claim again the position to which the French nation, during the last twenty years, had four times called him." Just before leaving Wilhelmshöhe, he issued another proclamation, in which he protested against the resolution of the National Assembly, deposing the Napoleon dynasty. He closed by demanding a vote of the people (another *plebiscit*). Little notice was taken of his manifesto. It was sufficiently answered by the national election (February 8, 1871), which returned four hundred Orleanists and only twenty Napoleonists. He remained in Wilhelmshöhe more than six months. His imprisonment was terminated somewhat prematurely (March 19, 1871), some weeks before the actual conclusion of the peace. He then repaired to Chiselhurst, where, with the Empress and the young prince, and enjoying the visits of his political friends, he passed the rest of his life as a private gentleman. His death (January 9, 1873) was scarcely noticed by the world.

Death of Napoleon (related in advance), Jan. 9, 1873.

Just before his death (1872–1873), the Napoleon party had arranged a plan to recall him to the throne. The better part of the French people were appalled by the principles and insane enterprises of the Communists, and MacMahon was ready to re-play the role of the English General Monk. Bismarck had been consulted, and intimated that he would not take any part, one way or

the other. The landing was arranged, but the attempt was prevented by the suffering state of Napoleon. In conformity with the wishes of all around him, but contrary to his own opinion, he submitted to an operation, which was skillfully performed by the surgeons; but in consequence of which the patient gradually sank into a sleep, from which he did not awake. Whatever may have been his errors, the misfortunes which fell upon him, upon the Empress, and the young Imperial prince, excited the sympathy of the world.

King William after the capitulation of Sedan, September 2, 1870.

After his interview with Napoleon at the little château of Bellevue, King William took a ride of five hours through the environs of Sedan to exchange greetings with his victorious troops. Wherever he appeared, exulting and ever-repeated shouts broke forth. The stormy hurrahs were sometimes hushed by the commencement of a choral: "*Nun danket Alle Gott*," or "*Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott.*" Then shouts and waving of helmets, and then far and wide:

> "Lieb Vaterland kannst ruhig sein,
> Fest steht und treu die Wacht am Rhein."

Amid all this worldly grandeur, enough to intoxicate most men, King William showed the same modest bearing as when he started upon his dangerous campaign. Not only in all his proclamations, with genuine humility, he gave the glory to God; but in all the acts of his subsequent life, we see no mark of inflation, pride, or vanity. This is true greatness. In a letter to the queen, written on the day of the capitulation, he expressed himself as follows: "The war of 1866 was something so successful that I could not expect during my reign any thing more

great and glorious, and when I now behold the wonderful accomplishment of a new event so important in the world's history, I bend my heart before God, who has chosen us as His instruments. In this whole thing, we must humbly recognize the hand of a merciful God."

Sedan after the capitulation.

The town of Sedan, after the capitulation, was found to be in a state too horrible for description, sunk in misery, filth, drunkenness, anarchy, plunder, starvation, bestiality, and despair. The atmosphere was so pestilential as scarcely to be breathed. Weeks of cleansing and fumigation were required to render the town inhabitable. "During the five days preceding the surrender," states one of the inhabitants, "the soldiers plundered to the right and left, indulged without restraint in every kind of shameless, nameless, obscene indecency and rascality which the wildest imagination can conceive. We blessed God when the Prussian troops entered and rescued us from these beasts."

The French troops were furious on learning the capitulation, and a mutiny would have broken out if the Germans had not pointed their cannon against the town.

Paris after Sedan. —Breaking up of the Empire.

Vainly had Palikao misrepresented the state of things, and assured that the Prussians had lost two hundred thousand, and that five hundred thousand French troops would be ready in five days to invade Germany. At last, came the truth of Sedan. The disastrous battle; MacMahon dangerously wounded; the astounding capitulation; the Emperor a prisoner; the whole army carried off into Germany; and the barbarians actually marching upon Paris. The excitement was naturally unbounded. The whole population were in the streets. Frantic voices everywhere shrieked: "Abdicate! Abdicate! Down with Napoleon! Vive Trochu!

Vive Gambetta!" Several persons were crushed to death in the tumult. The crowds pressed around the Tuileries, filled the Place de la Concorde, packed close the bridge across the Seine, and besieged the palace of the Legislative Assembly. The hall was soon broken into and taken possession of by the mob, with continued cries: "Down with Napoleon! Abdicate! Abdicate!" The Assembly adjourned in confusion and terror. At one in the night (September 4), it met again. Jules Favre offered the resolution that Louis Napoleon and his family should be forever excluded from the throne; that General Trochu be appointed governor of Paris, and that a provisional government for the national defense be immediately named. The resolution was carried without opposition. The crowd, with Favre and Gambetta at their head, then repaired to the Hôtel de Ville, where the Republic was proclaimed, the Legislative Assembly dissolved, and the Senate abolished. A feeble attempt, in the meantime, was made by the Bonapartists; but they soon perceived their time was past. The different members of the Imperial government fled.

Among the members of the government for the National Defense, were Jules Favre, Crémieux, Arago, etc. It immediately appointed Gambetta, Minister of the Interior; and Trochu, President of the Government of Paris. A part of the members afterward adjourned to Tours, and subsequently to Bordeaux, where Gambetta became Minister of War, in which office he for some months assumed and exercised dictatorial power.

Provisional government.

While Paris was in this whirl and agitation; the people shrieking: "Down with Napoleon!" the Republic proclaimed; an immense crowd marching to free the

demagogue Rochefort from the prison of St. Palagie, and all the lowest explosive elements of the old Jacobin Red Republic mounting to the surface, where was the Empress, the Regentess of France? The waves were running too high for the feeble hand of a delicate woman. She resolved upon a decisive step. Accompanied by Prince Metternich and Baron Nigra, Ministers of Austria and Italy, and with one faithful companion, Madame Lebreton, who refused to leave her mistress in the hour of danger, she repaired to the house of Dr. Evans, a distinguished American dentist, who for many years had been received in the Tuileries, not only professionally, but as a friend. Here, except Madame Lebreton, her companions left her to her fate. With knightly courage and fidelity, Dr. Evans undertook to effect her escape. Aided by his friend, Dr. Crane, also a distinguished American dentist, he conducted the Empress to the little harbor of Deauville, opposite the Isle of Wight, an uninterrupted journey of thirty-six hours, marked by various interesting adventures and romantic dangers, and after a stormy and perilous voyage (twenty-three hours), in the small yacht of an English nobleman (Sir John Burgoyne), landed at Ryde. The party presented such a forlorn appearance, that the landlord refused to receive them in the Hotel Pier, and they went to the Hotel York. Her generous protector accompanied the Empress to London, and hired for her the Hotel Cambden-Place, in Chiselhurst, which she retained as her permanent residence. At Chiselhurst, she found her son Lulu, and, let us hope, the grief of the Empress was lost in the joy of the mother. Five royal fugitives had thus left the stately halls of the Tuileries, never to return; the Empress Eugenie was the sixth and last.

Flight of the Empress, Sept. 4.

Thus fell the government of Louis Napoleon, St. Arnaud, De Maupas, Persigny, Magnan, Fleury, Morny.

Siege of Strassburg, Aug. 14-Sept. 27, 1870.

After the battle of Woerth, the Strassburgers had been rejoiced by the news of an immense French victory,—thirty thousand Prussians killed and forty thousand prisoners. In the midst of the shouting: "Down with Prussia!" and "On to Berlin!" the fugitives of Woerth began to arrive at the town-gates; officers and troops, Turkos, etc., exhausted, dust-covered, often without helmet, sword, or musket, their uniforms torn from their backs. On September 18, General von Werder summoned the fortress to surrender. The brave commandant, Uhrich, replied: "Not while I have a single soldier, a single roll of bread, or a single cartridge!" The siege continued for several weeks. At last, a bombardment thundered day and night. From two hundred and forty-one cannon were fired two hundred thousand shot. Families, mothers, children, old men, invalids, friends, strangers, crawled and crowded together into holes, corners, cellars, and other hiding-places, momentarily expecting death from the tremendous bomb-shells, or to be buried alive beneath crashing walls. Among other buildings, the public school-house, the city library, the theater, were burned to the ground or knocked to shivers.

As the town still held out, Werder prepared to storm. He first sent a *parlementaire*, inviting women, children, invalids, and old men, to seek safety in the German camp. The *parlementaire* found the town entirely uninformed of events since August 14. They knew nothing of Gravelotte, Sedan, the captivity and deposition of the Emperor, the proclamation of the Republic. They had heroically held out so long, in the hope of relief. Eight

hundred persons accepted the invitation and left the town. The bombardment then recommenced, and preparations were made for the final storm. This is certain death to a proportion of the storming troops. The men were selected by lot. The solemn ceremony had been completed, a field-chaplain had held a religious service and administered the holy sacrament. The brave fellows stood ready, waiting the command, when a cry of rejoicing rang through the camp: "The Cathedral tower!"—"A white flag!"—"Strassburg surrenders!"

Capitulation of Strassburg, September 27.

The capitulation was immediately signed. The number of war prisoners was seventeen thousand, with one thousand two hundred cannon, and all munitions of war.

Bazaine, by the battle of Gravelotte, had been driven back into Metz, August 18. The town was invested and the besieging force gradually increased to two hundred thousand. The approach of autumn and the frequent furious sallies greatly increased the labor and danger of the besiegers. They closed around the town in a circle about thirty miles in circumference. The villages in this vast line of circumvallation were transformed into fortresses, prepared for attacks, not only from within the circle, but from without, by bulwarks, walls, bastions, ditches. The headquarters of the different corps were connected by telegraphs; and from towers and observatories, erected on the heights, sentinels day and night continually watched every movement within their horizon. The siege lasted more than two months (August 19–October 27). All Bazaine's attempts to break out were vain. During the battle of Sedan, he made a ferocious effort, but, after two days' hard fighting and terrible loss, was driven back

Siege of Metz, Aug. 19–Oct. 27.

into his prison. Famine at last commenced. Common articles of food disappeared. Meat, bread, salt, were no longer to be had. A ham cost fifty dollars. Hay, straw, oats, were gone. The starving horses bit off each other's tails. Heavy rains and cold nights added to the suffering of the besiegers. Only inefficient protection from the weather could be provided. Sentinels sometimes stood during their watch at night, knee-deep in the water. The rains washed the lightly buried bodies from their graves, and the pestilential air produced fatal diseases. Both French and Germans endured their sufferings patiently. From a German soldier who, during heavy rains, had found shelter in a cask turned on one side, a letter was received dated "*Hotel Diogenes.*" At length, the white flag appeared, and a venerable officer, sent by Bazaine, bore to Prince Frederic Karl the offer of surrender. This officer was General Changarnier, then eighty years old, who had been so badly treated by Napoleon; but who, in the hour of need, had again offered his sword. Tears fell from the eyes of the old soldier as he announced that Metz could hold out no longer. "*Gentlemen,*" he said, "*I hope you may never see what I have seen in Metz.*"

Capitulation of Metz, Oct. 27.

Town, fortress, army, surrendered without condition; three marshals (Bazaine, Canrobert, Lebœuf); six thousand officers; one hundred and seventy-three thousand men; many *mitrailleuses;* three hundred thousand chassepots; five hundred and forty-one field cannon; eight hundred fortress cannon; flags; eagles, etc. As the Prussian flag, late in the evening, was hoisted upon the Fort St. Quentin, the heavens were illuminated by a strong aurora borealis, followed by a tremendous storm.

After the fall of the two last mentioned fortresses, our narrative divides into two branches. First, the war in the provinces; secondly, the long siege of Paris. We shall first, in a few words, sketch the former. After Sedan, as we have seen, Gambetta, Trochu, and Jules Favre were at the head of the provisional government. Jules Favre and Trochu remained in Paris. Gambetta, having left Paris in a balloon, joined the National Assembly and that branch of the government which had removed to Tours, and subsequently to Bordeaux, and undertook with extraordinary but vain energy to carry on the war in the provinces.

The war in the provinces during the siege of Paris.

By Gambetta's exertions, three new armies were raised with the intention to relieve Paris. The north army (General Faidherbe); the west army, or army of the Loire (General Chancy); the east army (General Bourbaki).

Three new French armies.

Battle after battle destroyed the army of the north.

Fate of the north army.

The Loire army, under Chancy, was not more successful.

The Loire army.

The one hope for France was then the east army, under Bourbaki. That was to change the current of the war; to relieve the fortress of Belfort, besieged by the Germans; to cut off the communication of all the German armies in France with Germany; and last, but not least, to invade Germany itself.

Army of the east.

Bourbaki had one hundred and fifty thousand men, twenty thousand sharp-shooters under the old Garibaldi, and thirty thousand men under Cremer (the latter one of the French officers who had broken their parole).

Bourbaki was stationed near the French fortress of Belfort, by whose garrison he hoped, in case of need, to be re-inforced. General von Werder now advanced against him. After several victorious battles, Dijon (October 30); Pasques (against Garibaldi, November 7), he met Bourbaki with his great army. The hopes of Bourbaki were suddenly cut off by General Werder in the battle of Belfort, which lasted three days (January 15–17, 1871). Bourbaki could not believe that Werder, with his forty-three thousand men, could maintain for three days one of the bloodiest conflicts in the whole war. The French, defeated and routed, sought to escape in a southerly direction, but here the retreat was cut off by Manteuffel. They then crossed the Swiss frontier, where eighty thousand men were disarmed. Gambetta telegraphed in a rage, dismissing Bourbaki from his command. The brave Bourbaki attempted to terminate his life, but failed. The last hope of France, from the exertions of Gambetta, was thus annihilated.

King William at the Palace of Versailles, October 5, 1870—March 11, 1871.

After the capitulation of Sedan (September 2), King William advanced to Paris with a part of his army, and took up his head-quarters in the Palace of Versailles.

Siege of Paris, Sept. 19, 1870—Jan. 28, 1871.

In order to obtain a peace corresponding to the proportions of the war, the loss of life, the enormous expense, and one which it was hoped might be a guarantee against the renewal of the war at a future period, King William and his counselors deemed it necessary to take the metropolis, and thus convince the French war party that the sacred city was not impregnable; that Germany was too strong to be attacked with impunity; and that a war might not be in all cases merely a

pleasant theatrical entertainment for the French court, or a sugar-plum to keep Paris quiet.

The force of the Germans consisted at first of one hundred and forty-seven thousand men and six hundred and twenty-two cannon. It gradually increased. The fall of Strassburg and Metz added to its numbers. Paris was (perhaps?) impregnable by storming, but the besiegers were determined to remain till the four months' provisions were exhausted, and until the bombs from without could be assisted by famine within. The line of field-works surrounding the city was fifty English miles in circumference. While the besiegers commanded unlimited supplies, the town was cut off from communication with the outward world, except by balloons and pigeons. No succor of men or provisions was possible. Paris beheld the closing around her of these formidable enemies less with alarm than astonishment, indignation — in fact, ridicule. She had within her walls a population of two millions, ninety thousand regular troops, and four hundred thousand men capable of bearing arms. The governor of the city, Trochu, was an able soldier. The city was fortified by works which had cost five hundred million francs, and it was believed defied bombardments and stormings. Provisions were ample, even for four months. Long before the expiration of that period, the German army would abandon the siege; or Gambetta, who had left Paris in a balloon to raise an army of two millions, would return and annihilate the besiegers; or the European powers would intervene and compel the brutal barbarians, thirsting for blood and plunder, to break off the siege. Confidence increased with the danger. New inventions were continually announced; infernal machines, steam *mitrailleuses*,

and other devices which would soon blow the German army back across the Rhine. How the noble and right-thinking part of the great French nation — and there are thousands of noble and right-thinking — regarded the siege, we may imagine; but all nations have classes which are not right-thinking, and during the reigns of Louis XIV. and the Napoleons, the people had been fed with falsehood and bombast. The following speech by Victor Hugo is a specimen. "Believe not," cried that (really) distinguished writer, "that this mighty and brilliant metropolis; the focus of civilization; the sun around which the nations revolve; the source of light; the metropolis of the globe; the central point of mind; the brain, the heart, the soul of the human race—believe not that this great Paris can be desecrated, bombarded, stormed, knocked to pieces, by whom? By a horde of wild barbarians."

The orator here addressed a piece of warning advice to the German army, which, in imagination, he saw standing before him, in a long line of attentive, awe-struck auditors.

"Leave the walls of Paris! You are rushing into the jaws of ruin! Go back to your own country! Cover yourselves not with everlasting shame and ridicule, by a vain attempt to conquer Paris!"

These ideas had long been taught, and had taken possession of the majority of the Parisians, if not of the French people. It was to show their inaccuracy that Germany thought it necessary not to abandon the war without occupying the metropolis.

Trochu had cleared away from a large space around the walls, every thing which could offer advantage to the besiegers. It was a sad sight to see the beautiful envi-

rons, forests, picturesque farm-houses, splendid villas, *châteaux*, adorned with every imaginable ornament; lovely gardens, enchanting parks, once the delightful resort of thousands for rest, peace, silence, and shade, now like dissolving views transformed into the wrecks and ruins of "grim-visaged war!" It was strange to see the enemy using every effort to save what the French were using every effort to destroy. The Palace of St. Cloud, with its lovely grounds and rich historic associations, in which Napoleon III. had composed the war speech of Gramont, was now shot to pieces by French cannon.

Commencement of the Commune in Paris, October 31, 1870.

At the moment when Trochu and other patriots of France were straining every nerve to save the country, and while Victor Hugo and his colleagues were assuring the Parisians that they stood upon a rock above all danger, two new enemies found entrance within the walls—a communist revolution and famine. A band of crazy demagogues rose in insurrection against their own authorities. Among them, Flourens, Blanqui, Ledru-Rollin, Felix Pyat, Rochefort, Delescluze, Groussy, etc. On October 31, these men, bearing the red flag, led the mob to attack the Hôtel de Ville. The members of the government, and the only hope of Paris, were here besieged with cries: "*Abdicate! Abdicate! The Commune! The Commune!*" and with demands for a new government of seven: Dorian, Louis Blanc, Felix Pyat, Victor Hugo, Blanqui, Flourens, Delescluze. The council were then arrested, and would have been murdered but for the intervention of the National Guard.

While the provinces, under Gambetta, were vainly struggling and beholding one of their armies after

another go down, the days of September, October, November, and December rolled over besieged and besiegers at Paris. The provisions for four months failed at last. No succor from without. The balloon and pigeon-post brought disastrous information, but no bread. Gambetta's great army of two millions did not come. The European powers did not intervene. The furious sallies were invariably beaten back. On these occasions, the French exhibited intrepid courage. Heaps of dead were brought back at night through the town-gates. The famine increased. The rich were not altogether without food, but the vast majority were exhausted by hunger. From December 21, there was indescribable misery. Not a loaf of bread. No meat, except the flesh of horses, dogs, cats, rats. Six hundred and fifty horses a day were slaughtered. The sparrows in the streets were shot. The animals of the Zoological Garden, elephants, lions, etc., were slaughtered. On New Year's Day, strange presents were made—beans, potatoes, onions, inclosed, however, in rich boxes; tasteful and elegant even in despair. The winter was coming on. Fuel failed. The trees in the gardens, squares, and parks were cut down. The nights were growing longer; but there was no more gas, and the streets of the brilliant and pleasure-loving city were wrapped in darkness. With hunger and cold, came disease and death. The number of deaths during the siege, independent of the war, was sixty-four thousand, instead of the normal number, twenty-two thousand. The landlord no longer received rent. Several hundred thousand persons were daily supplied by the authorities with a scanty ration of food. The proletariat class increased in number. Starving beggars, pale-faced citizens, ranting Red Republicans, thronged

Heroic endurance of Paris.

through the magnificent streets which Napoleon III. had built. People of all ranks were continually drilled for the next sally, in which they were pretty sure to be slaughtered. During this long period of increasing suffering, the heroic patience and courage of Paris were sublime.

Bombardment.

At length came the bombardment. A mighty force, with irresistible means of attack and inexhaustible sources of supply, completely encircled the starving city. At every point cannon stood ready to disgorge

> "Their devilish glut, chained thunder-bolts and hail
> Of iron globes."

The bombardment commenced first on one side, then on the other, till at last the shells fell from all points, north, south, east, and west; not only entering the forts, but passing into the city, a distance of four English miles. During three weeks, fifty-three thousand shells had been shot on one side. In the last desperate sally, Trochu headed one hundred thousand men; death before; famine and the Commune behind. All day long, with the strength of despair, he maintained the battle. At eleven at night he was driven back into the fortress, eight thousand killed and wounded. The mob now rose and demanded his abdication. Even his colleagues advised him to retire. The brave, able general descended from his post as governor of the city.

Capitulation of Paris, January 23-28, 1871.

All means of resistance were now exhausted. The hopes of re-inforcement were extinguished. The brave city had held out more than four months. The people were literally starving. On January 23, Jules Favre appeared at the Palace

of Versailles with an offer to surrender. The following conditions were agreed upon: I. Surrender of all the forts, with the war material. II. All the French soldiers in Paris disarmed and war prisoners (except the force required to maintain order). III. The city to pay two hundred million francs war contribution. IV. An armistice for three weeks, that the French nation might elect a National Assembly to decide upon the question of peace. The election took place, and Mr. Thiers was chosen President of France.

Thiers President of France.

The following peace preliminaries were agreed upon by Count Bismarck and Mr. Thiers, and ratified by the French National Assembly: I. France ceded to Germany Alsace and German Lorraine, with Metz (two hundred and sixty German square miles, with a population of one and a half million). II. France, within the period of three years, to pay five milliard (five thousand million) francs war expenses; the German troops occupying France to be proportionally withdrawn according to the payments of the indemnity. III. Thirty thousand German troops to enter, and temporarily occupy a small part of Paris.

Peace preliminaries, Versailles, Feb. 26, 1871.

King William (already become Emperor of the new Germany) delicately abstained from unnecessarily humiliating the brave French nation by a general military occupation of the metropolis. It was considered, however, indispensable to give to the large class, under the influence of such teachers as Victor Hugo, a tangible evidence that Paris was really taken; otherwise they might be subsequently instructed that the German army had been prevented from entering by the strength of the

Entry of the German troops into Paris, March 1, 1871.

fortification, or by fear of the consequences. A division of thirty thousand Prussian and Bavarian soldiers was therefore ordered to the gate of the city, where the Emperor William reviewed them. They then marched through the Elysian Fields to the Place de la Concorde before the Tuileries. Not one tenth part of the city was occupied; and (the peace preliminaries in the meanwhile having been accepted by the National Assembly at Bordeaux) the troops were withdrawn on March 3, having remained not three full days. As had been the case on their arrival, a large mob collected to behold their departure, showering upon them all the insults and wounds which words could inflict. But the Germans were armed with breastplates of patience, and their cannon, moreover, still pointed down into the streets of the city. So the occupation and evacuation took place without any further disturbance.

Treaty of peace at Frankfort-on-the-Main, May 10, 1871.

Peace was definitively concluded at Frankfort-on-the-Main.

France at the close of the war.

France had never before been so completely beaten. She lay like a splendid war-ship wrecked on the rocks. All her principal fortresses, even Paris, were in the hands of the enemy. She had lost one thousand eight hundred cannon, about five thousand cannon in the fortresses; six hundred thousand muskets; one hundred and twenty eagles and flags. Including those *internés* in Switzerland and Belgium, five hundred thousand troops, more than half her entire army, were war prisoners. France had taken prisoner only about ten thousand Germans. Germany lost in killed, nineteen thousand men. What was the loss in killed of France? Weber has the following:

"Who can form an idea of the men and youth of the French army fallen beneath the bullets and swords of the Germans on the battle-field or on the ramparts of the fortresses; how many on the marshes and snow-fields were struck down by hunger, frost, fatigue, and sickness? In that period of merciless terrorism, with which the troops, by hundreds and thousands, were driven into the battle, without preparation, without military drilling, without educated and experienced officers, without winter clothing, without stockings or shoes, often without tents and without food, it is not possible to ascertain the number of dead. The reckless sacrifice of life with which Gambetta, during the siege of Paris, drove on the war, transformed France into a vast cemetery."

The French territory was occupied by one million two hundred thousand German troops. From an estimate made by M. de Villefort, one of the higher members of the French Department of Foreign Affairs, we take the following statement of the financial loss:

War indemnity paid to Germany	francs,	5,315,000,000
Expenditure for war purposes	"	1,315,000,000
For the support of the German troops . . .	"	340,000,000
Loss of revenue during the war, including permanent loss of the revenue from Alsace and Lorraine	"	2,024,000,000
To restore war material	"	2,144,000,000
Indemnity to French claimants for destroyed property	"	1,487,000,000
Military pensions	"	1,314,000,000
Total	francs,	13,939,000,000
In American currency		$2,787,800,000

In consequence, the French nation was called upon to pay annually 632,000,000 francs additional taxes.

The war had lasted about six months, during which were fought fifteen great battles, beside one hundred less important.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE THIRD GERMANY.

FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE CULTURE STRUGGLE.

SINCE the fall of the old Empire, two new Europes had been constructed and destroyed, viz.: the Europe of Napoleon I. and that of Metternich. The small States of Italy, except Rome, had been swept away, and in their place stood the one Kingdom of Italy. Prussia and Austria, after their tremendous struggles with the revolution and with each other, had strengthened themselves. Germany, so long governed more or less by foreigners, waited her time. The Vatican, nearly stripped of temporal power, was regarded by the world as too decrepit to be any longer feared. The role she had played for a thousand years seemed at an end. France, conquered and humbled, but burning with revenge, was girding up her loins for an attempt to wrest her two lost provinces from the conqueror. England:

> "This fortress built by nature for herself,
> Against infection and the hand of war,
> . . . . . .
> This precious stone set in the silver sea,
> Which served it in the office of a wall
> Against the envy of less happier lands,"

now that those "less happier" lands were in the possession of steam, trembled lest she should lose the scepter of the ocean, and with it, her colonies reaching around

the globe. The Ottoman Empire, for so many centuries the terror of Germany and the curse of mankind, lay an impotent, sick man in the agonies of death. Austria, England, Greece, Italy, France, watched with greediness the partition of the inheritance; while Russia waited only the moment to seize the lion's portion. Kaulbach could scarcely have desired a better subject for one of his magnificent world-paintings than the sudden uprising, amid these powers, of the rejuvenated, old German Empire — Protestant — and armed *cap-a-pie* for battle. This new Empire, the Third Germany, has now existed eighteen years. The time has not yet arrived to attempt a history of it. It would be easy to give an idea of the Imperial Parliament-House in Berlin, now slowly rising, because we have a plan on paper by the architect. But who can venture to suggest what manner of edifice the new Empire may be! what yet unknown soldiers and statesmen may become its masters; what tempests may shake it to its foundation; what armies may compass it round; whether, when the rain descends and the floods come, and the winds blow and beat upon it, it will fall as all its predecessors fell, because they were built upon the sand; or whether it will *stand*, because it is founded upon a rock.

But although we can not undertake a complete history, we can give a few glances into this short and interesting period.

Three events attract attention, and take larger proportions the more they are considered. First, the adoption of the Infallibility dogma; secondly, the fall of Rome as a temporal power; thirdly, a new attempt of the Communists to gain possession of Paris, France, and the world, for the purpose of overthrowing Christianity. These

were the first rocks in the yet unnavigated sea upon which, in the pride of victory and the full confidence of superior strength, the new Empire was about to venture.

Many modern writers have taken it for granted that there is no more danger from Rome. This is a mistake. Not a tittle of her claim to be the empress of the earth has ever been abandoned. On the contrary, during the last four centuries (since the Reformation) she has lost no opportunity to enter her legal protest against her deposition, and to intimate to mankind that she waits only the moment to re-ascend her throne. The Peace of Augsburg (1555), it will be remembered, was called the *False* Peace, because, among its concessions, like a serpent beneath the flowers, had been brought into the treaty, by force and fraud, at the last moment, the *Reservatum Ecclesiasticum*, intended as a pretext for a future war. The Thirty Years' War (1618) was the work of Rome and the Jesuits, and was prolonged in the hope to recover the confiscated Church property and the countries which had escaped from her fold. When the war was terminated, the Pope (Innocent X.) protested against the peace, and against all the clauses of the treaties of Westphalia, which violated any right claimed by the Church previous to the Reformation. When the son of the Great Elector of Brandenburg assumed the Prussian crown (1701) as Frederic I., Pope Clement XI. offered his consent and alliance on condition that the reigning House of Hohenzollern would accept the Catholic faith; and on his refusal, became the bitter opponent of Prussia, quoting the words of God (Hos. viii. 4): "They have set up kings, but not by me: they have made princes, and I knew it not." In 1815, Pius VII. protested against the treaties of Vienna in so

Ecumenical Council, Dec. 8, 1869—July 18, 1870.

far as they infringed upon the Church rights in any country. In 1847, the Catholic movement to gain possession of Switzerland (defeated by General Dufour) commenced the revolutions of 1848. In 1864, no doubt with a view to the possibility of a new German Empire, Pope Pius IX. issued an *Encyclica* with the well-known Syllabus, that is, a circular address to all the bishops of Christendom, in which he formally declared war against the entire modern civilization, including every modern State government, every library, scientific work and institution, not acknowledging the supremacy of the Catholic throne. This document was gladly received in many countries, particularly in Germany, where a public address signed by many, among whom were several princes, hailed it with approbation. A meeting of Protestants, thirty thousand in number (1869, just before the Council), assembled in Worms, and protested against the revival of Roman power and against the Jesuits, declaring that the latter held the papacy in their hands. The object of Austria and Pope Pius IX. in the war of 1866 was to exorcise the hated specter of a resuscitated German Empire, Prussian and Protestant. In the same spirit, the Vatican encouraged the war of 1870. It has secretly or openly always endeavored to counteract the Reformation; to embarrass and overthrow the governments in Protestant lands as far as is necessary for the recovery of those lands. When the German Empire was proclaimed at Versailles, Pope Pius IX. sent a high dignitary to Bismarck, not, it is true, as Gregory VII. might have done, summoning the new Emperor to the Holy City, that he might receive the crown from the Roman Pontiff, but courteously requesting to know what position the Empire intended to take with regard to the Vatican.

Bismarck declined entering upon the subject, which in fact involved the question of a war with Italy.

However careless observers may laugh at the doctrine of Infallibility as the babbling of an old man in his dotage, it is obvious that all these protests, encyclicas, dogmas, etc., for the last four hundred years have been skillfully put forth as links of one great chain. Old Rome, in its new form, still aspires to make the East and the West her limits. The Pope and the Jesuits knew what a formidable instrument the Infallibility dogma would prove in their hands. The reader will remember that Rudolph von Hapsburg, on mounting the throne, determined to avoid every conflict with the Roman Pontiff. "I see," he said, "the footsteps of many animals which have gone into the lion's den, but of none which have come out." Infallibility here means exemption from the possibility of mistake in official decisions, and the right to decide any question with regard to the past, present, or future, without aid from any Council or other authority. If the Pope says one half of the Bible is true and the other not; that the Virgin Mary is a savior to be worshiped and prayed to, or that he has information with regard to the commands of God, not contained in, and higher than, the Scriptures, every State, sovereign, and individual contradicting him, is guilty of blasphemy. Bishops were called from all parts of the world, including the United States. Protestant churches were invited to abandon their heresy, and to re-enter the only fold.

The European governments were alarmed at the prospect of this Council. Prince Hohenlöhe, a zealous Catholic, but no friend of the Jesuits, Bavarian Minister-President, in the beginning of 1870, immediately after the

convocation of the Council, invited the governments of Europe to a common action in view of the danger threatened. But no attention was paid to the call.

The Council was opened in St. Peter's Church at Rome (seven hundred bishops), in one of the aisles where, from the imperfect acoustics, it was almost impossible to understand what any speaker said. The proceedings were intended to be strictly private; nevertheless, the Augsburg *Gazette* gave reports believed to be correct. The Pope alone had a right to propose a resolution, and it soon appeared that he had a permanent majority. The excitement, at times, threatened acts of violence. Against the papal declaration that "*all the godlessness of the world flowed from Protestantism*," the Austrian (Croatian) Bishop Strossmeyer indignantly and loudly protested, in spite of the deafening bell of the president and the rage of a part of the assembly, expressed by cries and scraping of the feet. The protest, however, would have been in vain, had not Bismarck, by telegraph, threatened to recall the Prussian Minister from Rome. Upon this the declaration was withdrawn.

At length the Pope brought the proceedings to a close by a kind of *coup de main*. He named Cardinal Angelis president of the Council, and caused him to be invested with the right to cut short every speech. Summer arrived, and a hot July rendered Rome dangerous to strangers. The Pope, in his cool palace, accustomed to the climate, manifested the determination not to release the Council till it had submitted to his will. The sudden breaking out of the war between France and Germany increased the desire of the bishops to separate. A majority adopted the dogma, which was solemnly proclaimed (July 18, 1870) in substance as follows:

"When the Holy Father, as shepherd of all the Christians on the earth, pronounces a decision with regard to faith and customs, the decision must be obeyed as if made by the Divine Saviour Himself, and can not be altered by the Church. Should any one, which God forbid, ever dare to contradict the doctrine, may he be accursed!"

As the result of the voting was about to be officially announced, the heavens were blackened by a thunder-storm, and the reader of the document was obliged to call for light.

Thus, for the first time, the grand, ancient plan of the Papacy was completed. A universal Church with an infallible head. How can we explain that seven hundred bishops, in our nineteenth century, could let such a decision pass without a public protest from a minority?

In this proceeding both Pope and Council were in a dilemma. How could the Council, unless infallible, pronounce an infallible decision? Its decision, in fact, was that it had not the power to decide. Or, if it were infallible enough to pronounce such a decision, how could the Divine attribute of infallibility belong exclusively to the Pope? If not infallible, the Council's decision had no weight. If infallible, it was wrong because it had declared the Pope alone infallible.

Fall of the Papacy as a temporal power, Sept. 20, 1870.

By the very next world event, and on the very next day (July 19), was rung, at least for the present, the death-knell of the Papacy as a temporal power. On that day the French Emperor declared war against Prussia. Napoleon III. had been the protector of the Pope from the revolution (Garibaldi, etc.), and Rome would have been taken at an earlier date, but for the French garrison within her walls. The defeat of her armies compelled France to withdraw her garrison from Rome. Two

months after the proclamation of infallibility (September 20, 1870), just at the commencement of the siege of Paris, and while Napoleon III. was a prisoner in Wilhelmshöhe, Victor Emmanuel incorporated the papal territory into his own dominions, and seized the Eternal City as his metropolis. The ecclesiastical authority of the Pontiff was respected. He remained at Rome as head of the Church, with the rank of a sovereign. The Papacy had first received territory and temporal power A.D. 752, when Pepin the Short, King of the Franks and father of Charlemagne, defeated the Lombards, seized the whole territory of the Exarchate and presented it, with the fortified capital, Ravenna, to the Holy See. Victor Emmanuel now took this territory back again.

Attempt of the Communists, March 30—May 25, 1871.

When the German troops left Paris, the city, with its two million inhabitants, fell into the hands of the Communists. The great French armies were either destroyed or prisoners of war. Thiers (February 12) had been elected President, and the National Assembly (March 10) removed from Bordeaux to Versailles. The unfortunate city, after four months of inexpressible suffering, borne with heroism, had just received tidings of peace. The highest and wisest men were endeavoring to restore order. The benevolent formed plans to aid and comfort the wounded, the sick, the starving, and the dying. Never did a noble nation in greater sorrow command a deeper sympathy. The insurgent leaders chose this moment for their attempt. They commenced by circulating falsehoods: "The new Versailles government had sold them—the German armies would have been annihilated but for German gold—Thiers, Trochu, and the rest were traitors — the great towns, Toul, Toulouse, St. Eti-

enne had successfully risen — Gambetta and Garibaldi were marching to re-inforce them with immense armies —the *Internationale* would join from all countries," etc.

In more or less friendly and direct relations with the desperadoes of this party, we find, as in other mad-houses, a motley mixture of higher minds, like Louis Blanc, Ledru-Rollin, etc., crack-brained men of genius and learning, virtuous enthusiasts, philanthropists without principle, patriots destitute of common sense, wandering, without light from above, without a guide, through regions of thought as dangerous as the great Cave of Kentucky. Around these gather the common mass of dupes, thousands of well-meaning, ignorant persons, mixed with thousands of the vilest character, easily transformable, by excitement and opportunity, into demons. The great metropolis resembled the boiling caldron of the witches in Macbeth. "Black spirits and white, red spirits and gray," of all countries, ages, and schools of thought, had poured their poisoned systems and deadly errors into the pot: no God; no future life; no marriage; no property; no accountability; no such thing as vice or virtue;

> "Adder's fork and blind-worm's sting,
> Lizard's leg and owlet's wing
> For a charm of powerful trouble,
> Like a hell-broth boil and bubble."

We borrow a description from a history of France, written by a Frenchman:*

"This insurrection was the work of the Commune and of the Internationale. The first, under the pretext of recovering for Paris, its legitimate right to elect its municipal officers; the second, aiming at recruiting the laborers of every country in the world, and intoxicating them with errors and passions. The people were taught that

* "Histoire de France," by Victor Duruy.

patriotism was a superannuated bigotry, property a robbery, society a detestable machine, which must be broken to pieces in all its parts. The poor dupes who listened did not perceive that they would be the first crushed under the ruins. The women were taught that the Commune would feed, clothe, and educate their children (that is, the family would be suppressed). The men were taught that they were the owners of all property. Then was formed a hideous mixture of ignorance, perversity, covetousness, and hatred; of brutal passions and overexcited desires. The result was an insurrection to which crowded the outcasts of all countries; an army of the blind led by convicts who cried: 'We can reach the promised land only by crossing the Red Sea.'"

The first steps of the insurgents were to drag all the cannon within reach to the height of Montmartre, their head-quarters, and to open all the prisons. Montmartre soon became what was supposed to be an impregnable fortress, bristling with barricades, two hundred cannon and *mitrailleuses*, and defended by *one hundred and eighty-three thousand men*, with eight thousand officers, beside eleven thousand volunteers, abundantly provided with muskets and ammunition.

The Versailles government sent General Lecomte, with several regiments, to drive the insurgents from their position. Lecomte ordered an attack in the afternoon, but, in the moment of the charge, his troops suddenly turned their muskets upside down, and the whole body went over to the enemy. Lecomte was arrested with some officers; among others, General Thomas. The prisoners, abandoned to the mob, and objects of every atrocious insult, were dragged to a little cemetery of Montmartre, and there, as a piece of fun, shot at as targets. They died bravely, pierced by innumerable bullets, and were then horribly mutilated by the bayonet and knife. A woman who, on this occasion, distinguished herself by disgusting cruelty, and many of the soldiers engaged in

the massacre, were subsequently identified and executed.

At one time, a party of citizens determined to make a demonstration in favor of peace. A long procession, unarmed, came into the Place Vendôme, occupied by an insurgent battalion. They were about to address the insurgents, when the latter, at the order of their commander, suddenly leveled their muskets, and poured a volley upon this unarmed company, which dispersed in terror, leaving twenty-one dead and wounded upon the pavement. The red flag was raised at the Hôtel de Ville, and Paris again crouched and shuddered under the red republic. The Versailles government, in consternation, withdrew its troops from the city, without even holding the forts. Over the Mont Valérien, alone, floated the flag of France. The members of the insurgent government were immediately separated into various parties by jealousy, hatred, and fear. They soon began to arrest each other. From the Presidential chair and the Council Chamber, the leaders sometimes passed to the dungeon. Money was obtained by seizing church and cloister property. An army of a hundred thousand communists next advanced toward Versailles. This force was soon seen returning at the charging pace, but not in the charging direction! having been mercilessly cannonaded from the Fort Mont Valérien. Flourens was left dead on the field; General Duval was taken prisoner, and instantly tried and shot. The insurgents had captured no prisoners, but they retaliated in their own way. They communicated to the Versailles government their determination to seize hostages from among the citizens of Paris; for every *one* insurgent shot, *three* of these hostages should be instantly executed. Arbitrary arrests and plunder now commenced.

A large number of civilians and priests were seized, consigned to dungeons, and kept ready for execution; among them, the Archbishop of Paris, Darboy. The government of Versailles now besieged their own metropolis more fiercely than the Germans had done. The German troops, observing the strictest neutrality, occupied all the forts in the north-east.

The news that the feeble insurrections in Marseilles, Lyons, Toulouse, St. Etienne, and other cities, had been crushed, inflamed the rage of the insurgents to madness. Without the great towns, their enterprise was a wreck. They prepared, therefore, to perish, and, if possible, amid the ruins of Paris.

MacMahon.

MacMahon was, at last, appointed commander-in-chief of the Versailles troops. He immediately planted batteries against the forts, and took them, one after another. The insurgents, comprehending that their hours were numbered, aimed neither at victory nor safety, but only at gigantic crime and demoniacal revenge. A committee of public safety began to operate, Felix Pyat among them. A new great conspiracy was declared to have been discovered. Spies, bought with the gold of Versailles and of King William, sat, it was said, in the most secret councils of the insurgents, and betrayed their plans. This was probably true; and will always be true in such cases. Men without God may, of course, be tempted to betray their trust. Why not? They are above those prejudices which blinded our forefathers. How can a "little wave"* be bound by honor? What is virtue to a candle about to be blown out?

The grand object now was to do as much mischief as

* Dr. David Strauss taught that human beings are mere momentary accidents like waves of the sea.

possible. A corps of "avengers" explored the city, and ferreted out and arrested suspicious persons. A revolutionary tribunal arose under the presidency of Raoul-Rigault. If the guillotine did not appear, and make it necessary once more to cut a canal to the Seine, it was because these men had not time. Upon the proposition of Delescluze, it had been resolved to set all the public buildings on fire; but it was subsequently determined that the hostages should be murdered, and then not only the public buildings, but the entire city should be destroyed in one vast conflagration. The loosest women paraded the streets, tricked with red ribbons, and carousing like fiends amid the hellish crash. The poor, crack-brained Louise Michel, repeatedly mounted the pulpit of the Church of St. Eustache, shrieking out demands for the rights of women, and glorying that she already stood upon the ruins of the altar and the throne. Another woman gathered a congregation in the Cathedral of Notre Dame. The Tuileries, the Elysée, and other government buildings were filled with drunken blackguards, in fantastic uniforms, smoking, drinking, playing cards, cursing, swearing, and sending out messengers to plunder private houses, whose owners had fled. An immense amount of property was abstracted, and the "immortal wine" flowed like a river. The beautiful Vendôme Column, with the statue of Napoleon I., was dragged down from its pedestal. (This column, in 1874, was re-erected.) The house of M. Thiers, among many others, was plundered of its valuable contents, and demolished. The robbery of the bank, and of whole squares and faubourgs, had been determined upon, but was prevented by the advance of MacMahon's battalions.

On May 22, that faithful officer entered the town at

the head of eighty thousand troops, and now, in the streets, took place a struggle between Frenchmen and Frenchmen, far exceeding in horror any incidents of the previous war. The insurgents maintained the battle, night and day, for ninety hours. Every street in their possession, every house and barricade, was defended without hope or wish for life; only for universal destruction. Divisions of incendiaries organized into bands, called *petroleurs* and *petroleuses*, went forth like furies to drench with their combustible fluid, and then, as far as possible, to set the town on fire. On the night of May 23, as the troops of MacMahon, with shouts of vengeance, were cutting their way into the center of the town, the heavens were reddened by a broad glare, not from festive illuminations to apotheosize Napoleon III., but from the roaring flames of the burning city. The Tuileries, Hôtel de Ville, Palace of the Légion d'Honneur, the Library of the Louvre with its eighty thousand volumes, the Ministry of Finance, twenty other public edifices, and two hundred private houses, were burned. The Museum of the Louvre, with its works of art, which France considers the most precious treasures of the human race—the Palace of the Institute, with its magnificent library—escaped destruction only by the arrival of the troops. Had the incendiaries possessed dynamite and time enough, Paris would have been totally destroyed. These agents executed their task with such devilish conscientiousness, that not only many of the inmates carousing in the buildings, but many of their own number, perished in the flames.

In the midst of this chaos, Raoul-Rigault and Ferret brought forth the doomed hostages, sixty-three in number, caused them to be ranged in a long line against the

wall, and shot; among them, the Archbishop Darboy, the Abbé Deguery, the banker Tecker, etc. The troops of MacMahon gradually occupied the entire city, and, fortunately, often succeeded in extinguishing the flames before the buildings were destroyed. The burning of their metropolis and the murder of the hostages had kindled in the troops uncontrollable indignation. The insurgents were massacred as if they had been ravenous wolves. Numbers found safety in flight. The less fortunate met the fate they had given to others. Dark things are related. Men, women, young maidens, who had been, perhaps, forced by terror into the service of the insurgents, were cut down, shot, or had their brains knocked out with the musket-breech. A cavalry officer, riding at full speed, dragged after him a number of prisoners bound to his horse, and thus hurried to the place of execution. Long ditches were dug, the prisoners ranged at the edge; the prolonged volley followed; the bodies, not always dead, fell backward into the ditch; lime was cast in, and earth shoveled over. Thus, by the *coup d'état*, was society saved!

Among the ringleaders of this insurrection were the following: Delescluze, Bergeret, Felix Pyat, Vermorel, Pascal-Grousset, Trinquet, Assis, Champy, Duval, Raoul-Rigault, Rochefort, Ferret, Rossell, Dombrowsky. We refrain from giving the numbers of killed and wounded. The sketch of Bacciocco (Leipsic, 1872) estimates the number of the National Guard alone killed in battle, or executed, at between nineteen thousand and twenty thousand. The loss of MacMahon's troops he gives as one thousand dead and three thousand wounded. He declares the insurrection was favored by many of the upper class in Paris, and that even after it was suppressed, the Ver-

sailles government was afraid for a long time to transfer its seat to Paris. If any thing could be worse than the scenes we have feebly described, it was the state of the city after the suppression of the insurrection. "All imaginable evil passions," says Bacciocco, "appeared in activity. Private hate, jealousy, envy of rival trades sought their gratification in the basest way. The secret denunciations became so numerous as, at last, to be rejected by the government."

Thoughts on Communism.

Communism, Socialism, Nihilism, are different stages and forms of the same idea, viz.: the regeneration of society by man without God. This kind of insanity may be controlled temporarily, but can not be suppressed by force for several reasons.

I. Because the assertion that the masses are oppressed is true; their misery is real.

II. The people outnumber their oppressors as millions to thousands, and are rapidly discovering their strength and their solidarity. They have conceived the colossal plan, much more practicable than many think, to organize themselves throughout the world into one vast disciplined army, and to carry on a merciless war against the existing systems of civilization and religion.

III. Universal suffrage is extending, at the moment when the ancient landmarks are being removed. What would Holland do if some of her great reformers were to destroy the bulwarks which protect her coast, just as the heaviest tempest which ever swept the ocean was advancing toward her?

IV. The position offers to demagogues too easy an opportunity to acquire money, fame, and power, by pandering to popular prejudices and passions. There is no

reason to suppose that the plan of the Anarchists will ever be abandoned. There is a possibility that it may be more or less executed, as was the case in the old French Revolution. The leaders are spreading their doctrines, secretly or openly, through all countries, even the United States, and they are justified by many of what are called the upper classes, whose religious faith has disappeared under the teaching of skeptical philosophy, and whose indignation and sympathy have been keenly and justly excited by an examination of the frauds and cruelties inflicted upon thousands of helpless victims, men, women, young girls, and children. Think of factories, the sweating system, the speculators, and innumerable other forms of despotism and inhumanity in all civilized countries. Society, as the demagogues proclaim, is a vast machine, and millions occupy places in it where they must be crushed if not helped. They are kept in misery by slave-traders and slave-drivers in the very midst of our schools and universities, our churches and our courts of justice. A separate class of Christians has labored faithfully to extenuate this evil, but neither religion nor humanity has ever moved governments, capitalists, or the upper classes to take up this subject properly. It is true; the people have waited thousands of years in vain, and it is no wonder that, under the influence of modern teachers, who have deprived them of every other hope and consolation, they believe dynamite, poison, and fire their only remedy. In the case of the people, as pleaded by the demagogues, there is a sufficient mixture of truth to give vitality to the most poisonous sophistry. Governments are beginning to move. Dynamite appears to have had some effect; but weighing this good, without placing the evil of it in the opposite scale, would be as great a mistake as

that of a banker who should add his receipts on the one page, without adding his outlays on the other. If we could see the suffering occasioned by these theories in Russia, not only to the guilty, but to innocent persons, who have been swept to ruin with the rest, because there was no time, no means to discriminate, the poor dupe would think twice before adopting them. Among other evils, they involve a great danger to the people. If the upper classes are less numerous, they are nevertheless stronger, because they possess greater means. They also may unite into one army, and, when endangered by fire, poison, and dynamite, may think themselves justified in establishing a despotism such as has never yet been seen, because it would be equally intense, irresistible, and universal. The return wave of the old French Revolution brought Napoleonism. What will come with the return wave of Nihilism and Communism? The murderer of the Emperor Alexander II. strengthened the principle of despotism over the whole world, and thus inflicted a real injury, as well as a disgrace on the cause of the people. Such attempts as the Paris June days in 1848 and the communist episode in 1871, are the steps by which a world dictator may best mount to the throne.

But, says the sophist, this reasoning would brand as sin and folly all resistance to oppression which history has recorded as right, glorious, and successful: that of the Dutch against Philip II., the English against James II., the American Colonies against Great Britain, Greece against the Turks (1821), etc. Here the oppressed rose and obtained their rights.

Answer.—There can not be two things more unlike than the above-named movements and the efforts of

Communism, whether we consider their means, their aims, or their leaders. For brevity, we take one of these movements only, that of the colonists against Great Britain (1776). They defended themselves like chivalric warriors, openly and honorably, with the weapons of soldiers, and according to the usages and laws of war; and they accomplished their purpose. Their aims were just and reasonable. They demanded simply representation in the British Parliament, or independence. Their leaders were Washington, Hamilton, Adams, Franklin.

Compare this with dynamite plots. Their means are wholesale, lawless murder, in defiance of humanity, man, and God. Their aims are the overthrow of civilization, the abolition of marriage, universal division of property, removal of the last trace of Christianity, destruction of the Bible, and the dethronement of God. Their leaders spring up like mushrooms in every country, from Most, Bebel, Felix Pyat, von Hartmann, to Robespierre, Marat, Anacharsis Clootz, etc.

What, then, are the starving millions to do? Are they to go on suffering forever? Yes; and not only that, but their sufferings will increase, unless the upper and the lower classes meet upon the common ground of Christianity, and inscribe on their hearts and in their lives the verse: "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." How probable this is, as the world is now going, we leave to the judgment of our readers.

Restoration of the German Empire, Versailles, January 18, 1871.

During the war, the restoration of the German Empire had been accomplished and proclaimed in the Palace of Versailles. The proclamation took place amid desperate battles and great German victories. Prince Frederic Carl (January 10)

had, with great difficulty, destroyed the brave army of Chanzy at Le Mans, after seven days' hard fighting. General von Werder (January 17) had beaten the superior force of Bourbaki, the last hope of France. On the 18th the Empire was proclaimed, and on the 19th Trochu made that celebrated sally which closed the fighting at Paris.

The Southern German States met the Northern halfway in reviving the Empire. The young King Louis of Bavaria set the example. All the other German princes followed. The Imperial crown was not offered by the princes alone. The people enthusiastically joined and unanimously presented to the King of Prussia the Imperial crown which had been already presented to Frederic William IV. by the people and refused (Heinrich von Gagern, etc.), April 3, 1849. King William, who had for some time resided at Ferrière, a palace and park belonging to Rothschild, on October 5, had taken up his quarters in Versailles. On January 18, 1871 (the one hundred and seventieth anniversary of the day when the first King of Prussia had placed the crown upon his head), the ceremony took place. An altar had been erected in the immense hall from which had perhaps issued the decrees for the Dragonades, and an interesting congregation assembled for the worship of God. A Prussian Protestant clergyman conducted the services. In front of the congregation sat King William and a large number of German princes. Near the king, the crown-prince, Bismarck, Moltke, Roon, the principal officers and soldiers, bearing the flags, torn with bullets and blackened with smoke, of all the divisions of the German army as far as they could be collected. The service was commenced by a military choir, with trumpet

accompaniment, who sang: "Shout to the Lord all the world."

Then followed the sermon (text, twenty-first Psalm): "The king shall joy in Thy strength, O Lord!" etc. In the Psalm occur the following verses: "Thou settest a crown of pure gold upon his head, for the king trusteth in the Lord, and through the mercy of the Most High, he shall not be moved. They intended evil against thee; they imagined a mischievous device, which they are not able to perform." The service concluded with the choral: "*Nun danket Alle Gott*," and a blessing asked from above. Then King William arose and advanced to the front of the estrade upon which were the princes and the fifty-six flag-bearers, and said, that in order to revive the German Empire, he accepted the dignity of Emperor for himself and his successors. He then requested Count Bismarck to read the proclamation which he had addressed to the German people. The closing words were as follows: "We accept the Imperial dignity from a sense of duty, in order to protect the Empire with German fidelity, to preserve peace, and to secure the independence of Germany. We accept it in the hope that the German people may be permitted, as a reward for their long and heroic struggles, to enjoy a permanent peace, within those limits, which, for centuries, we have not till now possessed, and which alone can guarantee the Fatherland against new attacks of France. May God grant to us and to our successors, ever more and more to strengthen the Empire, not by warlike conquests, but by works of peace in the domain of national prosperity, liberty, and virtue." Scarcely had the last word been pronounced, when the Grand Duke of Baden advanced some steps, waved his helmet over his head, and with a loud

voice cried: "His Majesty, King William of Prussia, William I., Emperor of Germany. *Lebe Hoch!*" The whole assembly joined, and the palace of Louis XIV. rang with the shout: "Long live William, Emperor of Germany." The Crown-prince Frederic William then advanced as the first subject and bent his knee. The Emperor raised him and kissed him, while tears rolled down the old man's cheeks.

Thus, out of revolution and war, arose the Third Germany, the Empire of the Hohenzollerns.

On December 18, 1870, a month before the proclamation, a deputation, appointed by the till then existing North German Reichstag, had been sent to Versailles to offer the Imperial crown from the people of the North German Confederation. The deputation was headed by President Simson, the same who in 1849, according to a resolution of the Frankfort Parliament, had offered it to Frederic William IV. at Berlin. The king thus received the Imperial crown from people and princes. It had first been offered by the people.

Ten days after the proclamation, and after the army of Trochu had been beaten back by the strongest force which had ever beleaguered a fortress, an armistice was agreed upon between Jules Favre and Bismarck, and a cannon, fired at midnight, announced the cessation of the bombardment and the close of the war. Whittier or Holmes might write a poem on that midnight cannon, heard by so many with such different emotions. At that moment, the Emperor William was the mightiest sovereign of the world, and his army was the strongest which had ever followed a human being. He possessed more power than any other man had possessed since Napoleon I. He was indeed a modern Charlemagne. He had

fought in self-defense, and had fairly conquered his enemy, in the open field, by the visible aid of God. He stood at the head of Europe, without ambition, without cruelty, without a crime, without bloodshed which could be charged upon him. No Palm had been shot; no Duke d'Enghien murdered; no *coup d'état;* no street massacre; no plebiscit; no Arnaud and Morny; no Cayenne ships. He had closed the interim of a Germany without an Emperor. Napoleon I. had been inflated with a mania for war and conquest. The height to which he had ascended made it necessary for him to ascend still higher. No such heathen delirium disturbed the mind of the Emperor William; his Empire, as the result has shown, meant peace. The weakest nation had no reason to fear a war of conquest; the strongest, no temptation to undertake one. No one could say to this man: "That head of thine does not become a crown."

Count d'Herisson,* in his brilliant volume describing the interior of Paris during the siege, has given a vivid picture. He had been instructed to convey a letter to Prince Wittgenstein, aide-de-camp to the Emperor William. He describes his glimpse into Versailles: "A sentinel lowered his bayonet before me to prevent my advance. The brave Saxon could not comprehend that a French officer, in full uniform, should have the audacity to enter the apartments of his sovereign. The officer on guard did not share his scruples, but caused me to be conducted to the apartment of the prince. If I relate this insignificant episode," continues the count, "it is because the spectacle which there presented itself, struck me with the deepest emotion. The immense hall, which served as antechamber to the royal apartments, was filled

* "Journal d'un officier d'ordonnance."

with a perfect army of generals and other officers of all ranks and arms, in full uniform, blazing with decorations, grand cordons, gold lace, orders, and other badges of honor. The helmets sparkled and flashed; the spurs clinked and clanked; the sabers rattled and clashed against the marble pavement. Then the tall, splendid forms, athletic, proud; the broad shoulders and breasts! the glances full of joy and triumph! What tranquil assurance! what calm repose! breathing success, health, opulence, power. While I waited, the Emperor himself came from his apartment to ride out. The grenadiers presented arms. In the court were heard the noises of a military troop being brought into line; the pawing and neighing of fiery horses, awaiting impatiently their masters; the brief commands of the officers. And, amid the crowd all bending before him, from the corner which I occupied, I saw pass the modern Charlemagne, the newly proclaimed Emperor of Germany, the conqueror of France, who held us all beneath his feet. He advanced calm and smiling, the helmet in his hand, fully revealing his venerable head, and his physiognomy at once paternal and soldier-like. With the greatest effort I suppressed a sob of anguish at this contrast; our afflictions! our shame! and this prosperity! this glory of our conquerors!"

On March 6, the Emperor telegraphed to the Empress:

Last telegram of the Emperor to the Empress.

"I have just ratified the treaty of peace, which was yesterday ratified by the National Assembly at Bordeaux. Thus far, therefore, is the great work completed, after seven months' victorious struggling, thanks to the self-sacrificing spirit of the Fatherland, and the courage, devotion, and perseverance of the incomparable army. The Lord of Hosts has visibly blessed our endeavors, and mercifully be-

stowed upon us this honorable peace. Be the glory to Him. From the depth of my soul, I thank the army and the Fatherland."

On March 17, the Emperor returned to Berlin. The entire population, amid the thunder of cannon, the ringing of bells, and shouts of joy, crowded to welcome him. On his arrival, he immediately repaired to the mausoleum at Charlottenburg. We shall not attempt to conjecture his emotions, as there, bending over the sarcophagus of his mother, he remembered her words: "*Conquer back again from France the darkened glory of your country.*"

Return of the Emperor to Berlin, March 17, 1871.

On June 16, took place the triumphal entry of the troops, consisting of the guard, forty thousand in number, and deputations from other divisions representing the whole German army, with the Emperor at their head.

Triumphal entry of the troops, June 16.

William had left, King of Prussia; he returned, the fifty-fourth in the great line of German Emperors. An attempt had been made to deprive him of the Prussian crown. He returned with the Prussian crown secure, and, in addition, the crown of Charlemagne, which, sixty-five years previously, Francis had laid down at the feet of Napoleon.

On that side of the city, adorned by the Brandenburg gate, through which in 1806, after the battle of Jena, Napoleon I. had entered with his legions, entered now the new Emperor. Hundreds of thousands had assembled to welcome him with a solemnity and splendor corresponding to the occasion. Twenty years previously, the revolutionary party had possession of the town, and on this very spot the writer had then beheld an organized crowd of thirty thousand revolutionists breathing out threaten-

ings and slaughter against this very Emperor, then Prince of Prussia. Here was a change. There was now no need of a police to organize the enthusiasm. The enormous multitude was pervaded with a sense of the historic grandeur of the moment. The German people, the tribes which had been with so much difficulty united by the sword of Charlemagne; which had, for so many centuries, been so insulted and kept apart by so many arrogant masters, this great and thoughtful nation now rejoiced in the possession of unity, independence, and power. When the procession began to appear, and the vast concourse from square and street, wall and tree, house-top and tower, caught the first view of the venerable conqueror, followed by a glittering crowd of world-renowned officers—the crown-prince, Prince Frederic Carl, Bismarck, Moltke, Roon, etc.—and when the *cortège*, amid acclamations which rent the sky, bearing the torn and blackened banners and the eagles captured in France, reached the statue of Old Fritz (where stand, also, the statues of Blücher, Scharnhorst, Gneisenau, Bülow, York, heroes of the War of Liberation, 1813), the reader will readily excuse us from a description. What a contrast did this scene present to the departure of the king for the battle-field less than a year previously! Then all was grief and anxiety. Then a dark curtain hid the future from all eyes.

While the German Empire was being thus triumphantly revived, the heroic inhabitants of Paris were falling into the hands of an enemy far more terrible than their German conquerors. The Communist revolution had broken out, and Paris, instead of being adorned with arches, flowers, and banners, and ringing with songs of joy and shouts of victory, was sinking into destruction and chaos.

Some time before the triumphal entry of the troops, the Emperor had opened the first Imperial Reichstag, in the white hall of the Royal Palace, in Berlin. The following constitution was almost unanimously adopted: The King of Prussia, Emperor; the title and Empire hereditary; the twenty-five German governments represented by the Bundesrath, and presided by the Imperial Chancellor, Prince Bismarck,* answering, in some degree, to the British House of Lords; a House of Commons, called the Reichstag, three hundred and eighty-two members directly elected by universal suffrage; one army, one navy, one coin, measure, weight, tariff, and one custom-house frontier.

First Reichstag, March 21, 1871.

There, at last, was a German Protestant Parliament, representing all the German States, princes, and people; just as Germany had vainly dreamed in the time of Gustavus Adolphus. There, the promise made in his proclamation of Kalisch (1813), by Frederic William III., was fulfilled. The Act of Confederation had promised, not a representation by universal suffrage, but only by estates. There was a representative government over forty million Germans.† This had been the object of all the German struggles and revolutions during the preceding century.

When, after the revolution of the Greeks (1821), carried on with a heroism worthy of their ancestors, the dissolution of Turkey became inevitable, that country proved as dangerous to the peace

Oriental question.

* The day after the opening of the first Reichstag, March 22, the Emperor's birthday, Count Bismarck was raised to the hereditary rank of prince.

† About fourteen million Germans reside in foreign countries; three millions in the United States of America; nine millions in Austria; and in the Russian Baltic provinces, between one and two millions.

of the world in its ruin, as it had been in its power. As we have already said, the sick man was dying, but he could not make a will; nor could the heirs agree as to the apportionment of the inheritance. Each province had not only a historical and financial, but a political and, sometimes, a strategic value. The adjoining countries, Austria, Russia, France (in Algeria), also England (for India), and the new Kingdom of Italy, stood sword in hand, watching. The splendid Mohammedan territory was breaking apart, but who would superintend the process, and who had a right to choose the pieces? To whom would fall Egypt and the Mediterranean (the central sea of human history)? Who would take the once so fertile Palestine, with Jerusalem and the Holy Places; the provinces on the Austrian frontier, Montenegro, Herzegovina, Bosnia with Turkish Croatia, Servia? And who would guard Europe from the war which appeared inevitable before these questions could be answered? What would become of the Kingdom of Roumania (the Danubian Principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia), bordering upon Russia? Who would grasp the eastern frontier of the Balkan Peninsula, Bulgaria and Dobrudja? Would any of these remain, or become independent kingdoms? The little Kingdom of Greece, on the south, as well as Russia on the north, was ambitious of extension. She did not desire to see Russia strengthened without some compensation to herself. She hoped for the *limitrophe* territories, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia, Thrace; and, above all, who would receive Constantinople, the magnificent seat of the ancient Byzantine Empire, just fitted to be the metropolis of an Emperor, with a scepter extending at once over Europe and Asia; and described by Gibbon as "guarded by nature from hostile attacks, with

the command of the sea; accessible on every side to the benefit of commercial intercourse, and possessing a secure and capacious harbor, which, in a very remote period, obtained the name of the Golden Horn; expressive of the riches which every wind wafted into it from the most distant countries."

The jealousy of one another, which has always inspired the Christian powers of Europe, was not diminished by the Oriental question. Russia has always longed for Constantinople, while England would regard the seizure of it as a danger to her Asiatic colonies. She wants India secure, and her way to that colony by the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal, in her own hands. (She has already Gibraltar.) Austria had a certain right to territory on her southern and eastern frontier, as an indemnification for the loss of Italy, and, of course, would not consent to a settlement either of England or Russia at her gate. It had always been the policy of Russia to weaken Turkey by fomenting insurrections, or by open wars. Napoleon III. entered into the Crimean war (1853) as a means to strengthen his throne. The Russian Emperor Nicholas hoped, by that war, to terminate the Oriental question in his own favor. The French alliance with England defeated his purpose.

The Paris Congress, which closed that war (March 30, 1856), raised France for a moment to the grandeur of a universal Empire, while it humiliated Russia, and interrupted, for a period, her plans in Turkey. Russia then introduced great reforms into her own army and Empire, and (1876) was prepared for a new attempt. France, broken down by the war of 1870, was no longer feared. Turkey, feeble and sinking, had been unable to fulfill the conditions she had accepted in 1856. The poor Sul-

tan, Abdul Asis, a wretched voluptuary, was not able to maintain himself against his various insurgent provinces. Russia offered her assistance (which was accepted) to crush those very insurrections which had been fomented by her own intrigues and gold. The Sultan agreed that Russian troops should land in Constantinople, but subsequently committed suicide, and the plan was defeated. Barbarous cruelties were inflicted on the insurgents by the Turkish irregular troops. Two foreign consuls, German and French, were murdered. Here was a danger that Turkey and Russia would settle the Oriental question in their own way, without England and Austria, and with the certainty of a war sooner or later.

Germany, with her immense military power, from the fact that she herself claimed no portion of Turkey, was in a position to intervene. Bismarck, therefore, invited to a conference in Berlin (May, 1876), the two chancellors of Russia and Austria, Gortschakoff and Andrassy, who, by the advice of their powerful colleague, consented to unite in pacific measures. Russia, therefore, ceased from violent infringements of Austria's interest, and Austria consented to take no measures of retaliation for what had passed. The three statesmen agreed upon a memorandum, according to which the Porte and the victorious insurgents were to conclude an armistice of two months; and within that period to come to an understanding with regard to reforms to be introduced. The consuls of the respective governments were appointed to see that the reforms were actually executed, and a fleet, consisting of war-ships from all the European powers, was sent to the Bosporus to keep the Porte from forgetting its duty. The sight of these ominous birds hovering around the Turkish coasts recalled a phrase, once before

used in the course of this narrative, but in a very different sense: "Wheresoever the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together." (The carcass was then the old German Empire, the eagles were the Turks.)

Notwithstanding the memorandum, Russia (April 23, 1877) marched an army across the Pruth, a river nearly as famous in our day as the Rubicon in the time of Cæsar, and then declared war against the Porte, on the pretext that the Russian Czar could not reconcile it with his dignity to permit the Porte any longer to delay the promised reforms. We overleap many details. The war, in which Russia was entirely wrong and entirely successful, lasted a year. It was closed by the Treaty of San Stefano (a Turkish village near Constantinople). Among the stipulations were the following: Montenegro, Servia, and Roumelia, independent; Bulgaria, greatly increased in territory, a principality under a prince, to be freely elected by the people, but to pay tribute to the Porte. The Bulgarian fortresses to be razed; and the government to be administered by Russia for two years. A war indemnity of one thousand four hundred and ten million rubles to be paid by the Porte to Russia. The cession of Dobrudja (the north-east part of Turkish Bulgaria, between the Danube and the Black Sea) would be received as a payment of this indemnity. It is not difficult to conjecture whether this treaty was dictated by the wolf or the lamb. The Dobrudja is a desolate, unhealthy region, but of strategic value to Russia, as it flanks the eastern frontier of Wallachia, and commands an important passage over the Danube. By this treaty Russia wrested Bulgaria from Turkey that she might take it herself. European Turkey was cut into two parts, and Bulgaria became, in fact, a Russian vassal State.

The dangerous character of the Oriental question, in spite of conferences and memoranda, immediately showed itself. In thus seizing her prey, Russia nearly kindled a European war. Austria and England prepared to oppose by force the execution of the treaty. The Czar, immediately after the war with Turkey, was not strong enough to venture upon another war against England and Austria united. At this point, the German Empire, bent on preserving peace, called a European Congress.

Congress of Berlin, June 13 — July 13, 1878.

The Congress met at Berlin, in the palace of Prince Bismarck. The principal object was to examine the clauses of the Treaty of San Stefano, and to bring them into harmony with the demands of England, Austria, and other powers. This Congress was a world event. It indicated first the commanding position and pacific character of the new Empire, the imminent danger of a great war, and the final breaking up of the Ottoman Empire. Her last spark of independence was extinguished. She had become a helpless vassal in the hands of Russia, Austria, England, and France.

What did this Congress do? It divided Bulgaria into two parts, the Principality of Bulgaria and the Province of East Roumelia. Servia and Montenegro were recognized as independent States, with an addition of territory. Russia was confirmed in the possession of Bessarabia, but was obliged to surrender the Dobrudja to Roumania, notwithstanding the protest of the Turkish plenipotentiaries. Austria was authorized to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina. Turkey gave to England a protectorate in Asia Minor, and a right to occupy the Island of Cyprus. Greece demanded, in vain, an enlargement of territory.

THE BERLIN CONGRESS OF 1878.

We have given the reader a sufficiently clear glimpse into the Oriental question, to show that the danger of a European war was probably averted for the time by the influence of Germany. The Empire had stood like a massive mole or breakwater, and, as far as possible, protected Europe from the flood. It remains, nevertheless, to be seen whether the partition of Turkey can be wholly accomplished without a general war; and still more, how the partition may act on the vast Mohammedan populations in Asia and Africa.

Certain events in the natural as well as in the political world are usually followed by catastrophes. The simple passage of the sun across the equator, at the equinoctial periods, generally produces storms; and the drying up of the Euphrates, to use a well-known phrase, a stream, the turbulent waters of which, for more than a thousand years, have threatened and frightened mankind, can scarcely take place without bringing about disturbing changes.

We break off from the Oriental question at a most interesting point. It seems that Russia has not been satisfied to accept the terms of the Congress of Berlin, and that neither congresses nor treaties will hold her back when circumstances offer an opportunity to advance her project. She seeks a protectorate, not over Bulgaria alone, but over the whole Balkan Peninsula, and all the States of Europe have been alarmed by her arbitrary measures. A *permanent* settlement was not even thought of in the Congress of Berlin.*

* The Statistical Table of Otto Hübner for 1888 gives the following:
MONTENEGRO.—Independent principality (chief town, Cettinje).
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.—Annexed to Austria.
SERVIA.—Constitutional monarchy (Belgrade).
ROUMANIA.—Constitutional monarchy (Bucharest).
BULGARIA.—Constitutional principality with Ostromelia (Sofia).

Thoughts on the position of Europe.

The Oriental and Occidental questions are not the only dangers of our time. Others have already been noticed. Is the world, with all its modern improvements, really going down hill? Wars and rumors of wars are not decreasing, but increasing. We live on a volcano, and every moment threatens an eruption. A single writer (for instance, the Russian Panslavist, Katzkow); the speech of a heated soldier at a banquet; an ambitious demagogue with a torch in his hand, may frighten all Europe. The people groan under the universal armaments. Can not the kings of the earth and the rulers "take counsel together," and find a remedy for this? It was really the intention of the old Holy Alliance to govern Europe upon Christian principles; but it soon became a mere machine of despotism against the nations. The present historic period is favorable for a renewal of this attempt. The existing Triple Alliance (German Empire, Austria, and Italy) is a hint of what the Great Powers *could* do if they *would*. Not only France and Russia, but Rome threatens. The Papacy has re-asserted her claim to temporal power and territory; and she works with stronger instruments than cannon. The Protestant powers ought to have united against the Infallibility dogma, as being a declaration of war against all governments. Let them now unite with the Triple Alliance, and agree upon some mode of protecting Europe from the wild, useless, wicked, savage wars of ambition and revenge. The dogs of war can not, perhaps, be destroyed; but they may be *chained*.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE THIRD GERMANY — CONTINUED.

THE CULTURE STRUGGLE.

WE must now go back to the first Reichstag in 1871. That assembly had scarcely met, when there appeared in it a party of sixty-five Roman Catholics, a phalanx close and deep, representing not only the Vatican, but a power sometimes superior to the Vatican, the Jesuits, resolute to oppose the State, and even to explode the Empire, should they deem it necessary. This was the party of the Center, headed by Dr. Windthorst. It had been regularly and carefully organized. Yes, *mobilized.* From the moment when the revival of the old Empire became inevitable, Rome had taken her measures to bring it under her dominion or to destroy it. The professed object of this party was to guard Germany against a too powerful centralization. Its real objects were to destroy Protestantism; to restore his temporal power and territory to the Pope; and to re-invest him with greater supremacy than he had ever before possessed.

Two of the most potent factors of history, Romanism and Protestantism, thus appeared on the floor of the Reichstag like two gladiators eying each other for combat. The struggle immediately commenced, and lasted sixteen years, called by the Germans *Kultur Kampf* (Culture Struggle). This term was first applied by Dr. Virchow.

The reader will bear in mind that when this Reichstag was opened (March 21, 1871), the Papacy as a temporal power was falling. The French garrison had been withdrawn from Rome (September, 1870) immediately after the surrender of Sedan; and Victor Emmanuel was preparing to take the city as the seat of the Italian government. The watchful and far-seeing Vatican, even before the war of 1870, had armed itself for the contingency of a German-French war and a German victory. It may be also necessary to remind the American reader, that while the Emperor is Emperor of Germany, which has a Reichstag and a Bundesrath somewhat answering to our Senate, he, at the same time, remains King of Prussia, which for herself has also two Chambers. The struggle was carried on, sometimes by the Prussian Chambers, and sometimes by the Reichstag and Bundesrath, but Prussia generally led the way. For the sake of brevity, we shall often let fall the distinction between the Imperial government and that of Prussia, and name only the Empire or the State. It is not our purpose to present a full, detailed account, but only such a brief sketch as is necessary to give the reader a general view of one of the last and most interesting episodes of German history.

The State government honestly wished to live at peace with Rome. It proclaimed freedom of religious belief for both Roman Catholics and Protestants. It was willing that the Infallibility dogma should be preached, but it required perfect freedom for every one of its subjects to reject it. The Roman dogmas were not binding on the State. The State required liberty of conscience, but actions were to be limited by the State law. Rome required the annihilation of conscience, the substitution in its place of the infallible Pope's opinion, and the sub-

stitution of the Pope's decree instead of the State law. The door was here wide open for a quarrel, and for a quarrel of far greater dimensions than at first appeared. It was, in fact, a war of the largest kind, reaching to the ends of the earth.

In January, 1871, the Director of the Catholic Gymnasium of Breslau (Prussia) and eleven teachers refused to teach the Infallibility dogma. All the schools of Prussia are under the supervision of the government. The bishop had no right, therefore, to dismiss these heretics; but he asked the government to dismiss them, or to compel them to retract their refusal. The Minister of Public Worship, Mr. von Mühler, an Evangelical Christian, refused. He could not punish a German subject who had not violated a German law. This incident is a specimen of the kind of collision which frequently took place. We here see why Rome had declared the doctrine of Infallibility, not because she believed in it, but because she knew what a sharp weapon it would prove in her plan to divide the population of the new Empire.

On the opening of the first Reichstag, the Emperor, in his speech, said: "A petition had been presented in Versailles by the Roman Catholic party of the Prussian Second Chamber, asking him to cause to be restored to the Pope his temporal power and territory. To this petition he had thought it proper to give a negative answer." Thus the two armies in the Culture Struggle, even before the meeting of the first Reichstag, had, to use a military figure, begun to reconnoiter and to feel each other. The Emperor also remarked, in the course of his speech, that the "new German Empire terminated the period when one nation could be permitted to intermeddle in the interior affairs of another."

The address of the Reichstag, in reply to the speech, had the following remark: "This period of intermeddling has not only ceased, but shall never be renewed under any pretext whatever." The address was carried by a large majority, notwithstanding the violent opposition of the Centralists. They demanded for the Catholic bishops, priests, orders, press, etc., an unlimited constitutional right to do what they pleased with the members of their Church in Germany, without regard to State laws. Mr. Reichensperger (Centralist), April, 1871, proposed a resolution that the Roman Church in Germany had a right to complete independence. This motion was rejected, of course. From that time, the Ultramontane party commenced a system of ever-increasing opposition, which compelled the government to enact a series of stringent laws for its protection. Our readers have already seen with what obstinacy the Catholic bishops opposed Frederic William III. (1825) on the subject of mixed marriages, and with what indulgence they were treated by him and by Frederic William IV. Gratitude was not the virtue of the Ultramontane party. It openly expressed its determination to carry on the war till the German government should yield, or be defeated and humbled. The Catholic Department of the Prussian Ministry of Public Worship so openly joined the refractory Catholic bishops, that it was finally abolished. A law defined more sharply the sole right of the State over the schools.

Many Catholic newspapers were established, especially the *Germania*, in Berlin, for the purpose of promoting the war, and of inspiring the Catholic population with hatred of the State. A cry of persecution was raised, echoed and re-echoed throughout Germany. The godless Bismarck was seeking to destroy the Church. The Bava-

rian Minister von Lutz (1871) offered the following resolution in the Reichstag: "Any clergyman, or other agent of religion, either Roman Catholic or Evangelical, proclaiming or representing a State affair in such a way as to endanger the public peace, shall be liable to a fine of one thousand thalers, or to imprisonment not over two years." The resolution passed amid the furious protestations of the Centralists. The members, Windthorst, Reichensperger, and Mallinckrodt, branded it as an outrage upon freedom and a violation of the rights of the Church. "*Since when*," cried Windthorst, "*has the Bavarian lion sought refuge under the wings of the Prussian eagle?*"

In the beginning of 1872, the Prussian Minister of Public Worship, Mr. von Mühler, was obliged to retire from office. His position was too difficult. He was found by the liberal, free-thinking party, too unbending in his Protestant views. He yielded his office to Dr. Falk, a free-thinker.

In 1872, Bismarck attempted conciliation, and offered to accredit Prince Hohenlohe, a zealous Catholic, but no friend of the Jesuits, as Minister of the German Empire to the Papal *curia*.* The Pope, Pius IX., received this offer in a way which cut off all thought of reconciliation at that time. Bismarck declared in the Reichstag: "Whatever may happen, *we shall not go to Canossa*." There were not wanting those who thought on hearing this remark: "Let not him that girdeth on his armor, boast himself as he that putteth it off."

The Reichstag now passed a law expelling from Germany the Jesuits and all kindred orders, Redemptorists, Lazarists, Priests of the Holy Ghost, Society of the Holy

* *Curia*, an old Roman word for a debating assembly or council chamber; in our day, applied to the Papal court and government.

Heart of Jesus, etc. For the previous fifty years, the Jesuits had been tolerated in Prussia, particularly in the Rhenish Province, Westphalia, and Posen. In Alsace-Lorraine, they had been busily engaged counteracting the efforts to reconcile the inhabitants to their new position. Many Prussian nobles on the Rhine manifested sympathy with Rome. The law against the Jesuits was not executed without tumults, suppressed only by military force. The Roman bishops called a meeting at the grave of St. Bonifacius, at Fulda (Cassel, September 18, 1872), and drew up a memorial, which was printed and communicated to each one of the German States. It was an appeal to the Catholic population not to obey the State laws; in fact, a declaration of war against the German government.

Expulsion of the Jesuits.

Professor Döllinger (1871), a Roman Catholic representative of the Munich University in the Bavarian Chamber, one of the most distinguished members of the Frankfort Parliament (1848), publicly protested against the Infallibility dogma. The Archbishop of Munich excommunicated him; but the protest was hailed by a number of other Roman Catholics, and became the rallying point of a separate Catholic Church, called the "Old Catholics" (*Alt Katholiken*). The German Catholic bishops now began to persecute and punish this party, without the consent of and contrary to the will of the German government.

The old Catholics.

On learning of the Jesuit law, the Pope bitterly complained (June 25, 1872) to a deputation of Catholic Germans in Rome. He said: "The first minister of a powerful government has placed himself at the head of a long premeditated perse-

Pope Pius IX. denounces the Empire.

cution of the Roman Church. Such an attack upon the Church and upon the truth marked insanity." He concluded by declaring it his hope and belief that the result would be the destruction of all that the German Chancellor had done in Germany; and that, in a short time, *a stone would fall from the mountain, smite the colossus, and break it to pieces.*

We pause a moment to point out two misstatements in the remarks of the Holy Father. First, that the State was carrying on a long premeditated persecution of the Roman Church, and secondly, that such an attack upon the truth marked insanity. The Church was, in fact, carrying on a long premeditated attack upon the State. How could the attempt of the State to prevent the violation of its laws be called a persecution? The Christians were persecuted under the Roman Emperors. The Albigenses were persecuted. Neither sex, nor age, nor rank were spared. "We have," said the leaders, "put all alike to the sword." This was a persecution. Again, how could the maintenance of the State laws be called an attack upon the truth? What is truth?

May Laws.

Now followed the celebrated legislation known as the May Laws, the object of which was to weaken the power of the clergy over the laity, of the bishops over the lower priesthood; more carefully to define the right of the State to remove refractory priests and to punish violations of the State laws. One law forbade any Church authority to bestow an ecclesiastical office on any one not a German, not educated according to the State law, not presenting a certificate that he had studied in a German gymnasium, and whose appointment was not approved by the State.

In 1873, the Pope addressed a written communica-

tion to the Emperor William, in which he declared his impression that the Emperor could not approve, and, he believed, was opposed to the acts of the German State government, the object of which was the destruction of Catholicism, and that those acts would not cause the destruction of Catholicism, but of the German throne. "I speak freely," continued the Pope, "for my banner is the truth, and it is my duty to speak to all, even to those who are not Catholic, *for every human being who has been baptized belongs, in one way or another, to the Pope.*"

Pope writes to the Emperor William, August 7, 1873.

The Emperor replied, he regretted that the Pope had been so misinformed as to believe that any measure of the Prussian government could have been taken without the head of the State. He deplored that a party had sought to disturb the public peace in Germany by hostile acts, and that high ecclesiastical dignitaries had gone so far in open disobedience to the State authority. Against this spirit of disobedience, which had at the same time shown itself in most of the European and in some of the Transatlantic States, it was his duty to take proper measures. He could not but hope that the Pope would at length be better informed with regard to the real nature of this whole affair, and that he would use his authority to terminate an agitation carried on only by the most false representations and by the misuse of the clerical power. The religion of Jesus Christ and the truth, whose banner he (the Emperor) proclaimed his intention to defend, without regard to consequences, he declared before God, had nothing to do with these agitations.

Emperor William's answer, Sept. 3, 1873.

As to the remark of the Pope, that every one having

received baptism belonged to him (the Pope) in one way or another, the Emperor could not pass this by without contradicting it. "The Evangelical faith to which I, my forefathers, and the majority of my subjects belong, does not allow us to accept any other mediator between us and our God than our Lord Jesus Christ. This difference in our faith, however, does not prevent my living in peace with those of another faith, or from assuring your Holiness of my personal respect and veneration."

Brandenburg Synod.

In the midst of this war against the Catholics, the Emperor gave an audience to a deputation of the Brandenburg Provincial Synod, on which occasion he spoke as follows: "It will be easy for you to work for the Church as long as you hold fast to your faith in God and in the Divinity of Christ. If we fail to do this, we are no Christians. Some are endeavoring to form a religion founded on the denial of the Divinity of Christ. It is therefore necessary to encourage our faith in the Church as all my forefathers have done."

Archbishop Ledochowski in Poland, Feb. 3—April 15, 1874.

Archbishop Ledochowski had been secretly appointed by the Pope, at the Ecumenical Council, Primate of Poland; that is, head of the Church in the Kingdom of Poland, with authority, in case of the absence of a king, to represent him as the bearer of political power. (In case a revolution should break Poland from Prussia and Russia, this gentleman, at least for the time, would be the king.) The archbishop had offered violent opposition to the May Laws. His course greatly excited the people and embarrassed the government. The president of the province required the archbishop to resign his

office. Ledochowski refused. His authority, he said, was given him by God, and no earthly power had a right to take it from him. In many other ways, he claimed the right to make war upon the State. He was at last arrested, committed to prison, and subsequently deposed. He served his time out in prison, and afterward returned to Rome, where the Pope made him a cardinal.

Kullmann's attempt to assassinate Bismarck, July 14, 1874.

In the midst of this excitement, the bullet of an assassin came within a hair of terminating Bismarck's life. At the bath of Kissingen (Bavaria), a man approached the prince's carriage, as if to greet him; as the prince raised his hand to return the greeting, the man fired a revolver at his head and wounded him in the hand. The personal exertions of the prince saved the criminal from the fury of the crowd. The wound was slight. Bismarck, on the same day, visited the prisoner in his cell. He found an ignorant fanatic, twenty-one years of age, who had already been in prison for beating his master. Bismarck asked him why he had attempted to murder him? The man replied: "Because you passed the Church Laws." After his first imprisonment, Kullmann had joined a Catholic society, where the Ultramontane newspapers and the lectures of a priest called Stoermann had increased his excitement. He was condemned to fourteen years in the penitentiary. Two thousand telegrams were received by the Chancellor from all classes of the nation.

The *Germania* remarked of the Kullmann attempt: "Prince Bismarck must not be surprised that the indignation of the public at his policy should sometimes express itself in the form of a crime." The Ultramontane publications declared there had been no crime at all; the whole thing had been only a comedy, got up by the

police, to increase the popularity of Bismarck. In the Reichstag, Windthorst said that "such an unjust policy as that of Bismarck would naturally drive some of the people to a crime."

Pope Pius IX. now issued an encyclical letter to the Prussian Catholics, declaring the May Laws invalid. They were fit only for slaves. They were in violation of the divine right of the Church. The Prussian Catholics were released from obedience to them.

Encyclica, Feb. 5, 1875.

At that time the population of Germany, including Prussia, was about forty-one millions; of whom, twenty-five millions were Evangelical, and fourteen millions Roman Catholic; the rest, Jews and persons not classified under any religious denomination. There were five archbishoprics, twenty bishoprics, twenty thousand priests, and eight hundred cloisters.* Fourteen million subjects of Prussia and of the Empire were thus summoned by a decree, which claimed authority as if spoken by Jesus Himself, to rise in rebellion against their sovereign, and rally around the banner of a foreign potentate.

The bishoprics, above mentioned, were, in fact, so many fortresses of the enemy; standing within the German camp; walled around with massive, ancient prejudices, interests, and passions; each garrisoned by disciplined troops; commanded by an able, experienced general; well supplied with ammunition; and inspired with one grand idea cherished for ten centuries, to raise the Papal throne above the State authority.

One of the last and most important laws against the

* The population of *Prussia, without Germany*, was twenty-four millions, including eight million Catholics; *Germany, without Prussia*, seventeen millions, including six million Catholics.

Church was the obligatory Civil Marriage Law, passed by the Reichstag, by which the sanction of the Church was declared not necessary to the legality of a marriage. It required only that the ceremony should be performed before a civil magistrate. It naturally followed that every marriage was lawful without the consent of the Church, and that should any Roman priest, or member of any Roman Catholic order, marry, the State would pronounce such marriage lawful. The law canceled in Germany that famous ecclesiastical law of celibacy, proclaimed by Gregory VII. in the eleventh century, and against which a part of the Church itself had struggled in vain for two centuries. This really did look like a knocking to pieces of the Roman Church, and the heavy blows of the Iron Chancellor resounded throughout the whole Catholic world.

Civil Marriage Law, January 1, 1876.

Dr. Windthorst, in the Reichstag, openly threatened a revolution. He said he would never rest till the Church had obtained every thing she demanded. He would compel the government to abolish the May Laws, or he would overthrow it. He stood, he said, at the head of ten million German Roman Catholics. He declared that all the wretchedness which existed in the Empire came from the Culture Struggle.

Pope Pius IX. died in 1878; and his successor, Leo XIII., communicated his own elevation to the Papal throne, in friendly terms, to the Emperor William, expressing an earnest desire for peace, but declaring it could be attained only by the abolition of the May Laws. Bismarck answered, he was not unwilling to modify the strict mode of their application, if the Central party and press would terminate their violent opposition. The *Germania* replied:

Death of Pius IX. — Accession of Leo XIII.

"The Centralists are a political party. They will continue their opposition even should there be peace with Rome."

Termination of the Culture Struggle.

We have now to relate an astonishing event. In May, 1887, the Culture Struggle was suddenly terminated. By a vote in the Prussian Chamber of two hundred and forty-three against one hundred, the State canceled nearly all the laws which it had passed against the Roman Church during the previous sixteen years. The only advantage the Empire had obtained was the bitter experience of its inability to carry on the contest.

Many questions naturally arise. What were the causes —what will be the consequences—of this reconciliation?

Causes.

Rome was too strong for the Empire. "With a history of a thousand years behind her; carrying on her wars, not with muskets and cannon, but with moral forces, which she can intensify at will to religious fanaticism; enthroned upon her long-asserted claims to universal dominion; supported by a perfect discipline, and now exercising an infallible authority, Rome can wait and bide her time. The modern State is in a different position. Standing in the heavy-sweeping currents of modern thought and culture; confronting the most threatening social problems; bristling with armor; in the momentary expectation of great political catastrophes; and rent asunder by internal parties, it was unable to cope with the Roman power."*

To this we add, the position of the Empire with regard to France; the ever-existing possibility that in the exe-

* "*Wie Weiter*," 1887, von F. Fabri.—Let me here acknowledge my indebtedness to this able writer for much information with regard to the true nature of the Culture Struggle.

cution of the ambitious plan of Russia, that colossus may break any treaty and betray any ally; the decisive power of the Central party of the Reichstag, aided by the strong and increasing Socialist party, made it necessary to desist from driving Rome to extreme measures.

Was Bismarck wrong?

Was Bismarck, then, wrong in beginning the struggle? No. A State has a right to maintain its laws. Either the State is master or Rome is master. To admit the latter, is to give to Rome the victory in the grand war which she has reopened against every modern State and individual who rejects her authority; it is to admit that the Pope is ruler of the earth, to be obeyed by all mankind, and that his official decisions are to be received and reverenced as if spoken by God Himself. He has the right and the power to say to Germany, England—yes! to the United States: "I forbid such a law. I release your subjects from obedience." The American reader may smile at the idea of "going to Canossa!"; yet, should our Catholic population increase, the subject of a Catholic vote, directed by an infallible Pope, is not wholly without interest!

The mistake of Bismarck was, not that he commenced the Culture Struggle, but that he did not commence it at an earlier period and with more decision. He was not aware of the strength of his enemy, and did not form a plan in proportion. Flushed with victory, and at the head of a mighty military force, he thought himself strong enough to act without a matured plan. He thought the Infallibility dogma would be rejected by every one. Never, indeed, had civilized human beings been called upon to make such a sacrifice of reason and religion. Never had the Roman Church perpetrated a larger and more daring act. That act should have been

met by one equally large and daring. The responsibility for the issue of the Culture Struggle does not rest with Bismarck, but with all the governments of the world. It was not a German question, nor a European question; it was a world question. The ambition of Cæsar, which brought forth the cry of the republic: "Brutus, thou sleepest, awake!" was nothing to the ambition of Rome; and yet nearly all the governments slept. Still, there was an uneasiness even among the Ultramontane governments. The Concordat between Austria and the Pope, Pius IX., was denounced by Austria in 1870, in consequence of the Ecumenical Council.

Allies of Bismarck.

Upon what allies did Bismarck count?

I. The whole enlightened modern world.

(He no longer represented the ideas of the middle ages.)

II. The Protestant German population.

III. The German schools and universities.

IV. The Old Catholic party.

V. The Evangelical Church.

VI. Even the Roman Catholic Church. The Infallibility dogma appeared so preposterous that he had a right to think it offered an occasion to break apart the Roman Church, and to abolish its pretensions and abuses.

VII. He counted upon the large and powerful party of free-thinkers.

All these allies, at the end of the struggle, had proved indifferent, or had abandoned him. The Evangelical Church, in this conflict, found itself as much in danger as the Roman. The materialists cared not to destroy the Roman Church unless they could, at the same time, destroy the Gospel itself. The May Laws frightened away, not only the Roman Catholic world outside of Germany, but the Roman Catholic Germans. The conflict diverted

attention from the Infallibility dogma, to the victims of what began really to have the appearance of a cruel, religious persecution.

What were the allies of Rome?

Allies of Rome.

I. Her long-tried organization.

II. Her perfect world-wide discipline.

III. Her almost complete unity, against which the Old Catholic party soon ceased to be of weight. The Roman Church is so united as to form a separate body; whereas Protestantism is broken into separate pieces, so as to present no common front to her great enemy. At the time of the Reformation, and during three subsequent centuries, there were more than three hundred German States, beside the countries outside of Germany. Protestantism as it came from the hands of Luther, Melanchthon, etc., could flow only into separate States, and was thus broken up, not only in separate countries, but into separate denominations, some of them as much opposed to each other as the Reformation and Rome. Whereas, the Roman Church spreads her broad and mighty wings over every country of the globe, and the Roman Catholic of the Fiji Islands, of the United States, and Europe have one creed and one infallible commander.

IV. The Jesuits.

V. The materialism of our day, extending so widely and inspiring a fear that Christianity may be, at last, really overthrown. How many turn from the simple Gospel, merely because they do not understand it, and fly to the ancient and magnificent structure of Catholicism (over which, also, the banner of Christ, although half hidden by other banners, still floats), because they have been made to believe that the Papal Church is their only refuge from the black and totally unproved system of despair and

death, falsely presented by so many able writers as the demonstrated results of real science. Should Rome ever again ascend her medieval throne, it will be, in a great measure, owing to the horror and disgust excited by this class of gifted thinkers.*

VI. The sufferings of Germany during the Culture Struggle. For instance, the State, beside imprisoning many of them, withdrew their salaries from the refractory bishops and priests. Sixteen million marks were declared to have been taken from the Prussian Roman clergy. Another source of suffering was the abolition of cloisters, etc. It was a strange sight to the German people to see so many of their fellow-subjects banished from their homes and country; thrown into prison; deprived of the means of subsistence, without trial, judge, or jury. Many of these were greatly esteemed and beloved by their whole neighborhood; some were Sisters of Charity of gentle character, associated only with acts of mercy and tenderness.

Incomes withheld.

Abolition of cloisters.

* I do not mean that the discoveries of science excite horror and disgust. They excite wonder and admiration. The attempts to desecrate them as evidence against the Gospel—these excite horror and disgust. Indeed, by the proof on both sides, and tested by true logic, all the systems of skepticism fall. The most striking and alarming feature of our present century is the fact that such one-sided, illogical reasoning, excluding such proof, leading to such monstrous conclusions, could be proclaimed by such learned men, and could delude so many intelligent people upon a subject of such tremendous importance. Impossible as the Gospel may seem to this or that philosopher, it stands on proof as solid as that of the scientific discoveries. The Gospel reveals Jesus as the divine Messiah, just as the telescope reveals the nebulæ as they existed a thousand years ago. Both revelations are above human reason; both are there *because they are there*, whether we believe them or not. They who use the discoveries of science to overthrow the Gospel are as bad reasoners as they who use the Gospel to overthrow the discoveries of science. The true scientist does not decide according to probability; but, free from vulgar prejudice, he decides according to *all the proof*, and accepts *all the conclusions*. The corner-stone of Christianity is the resurrection of the body of Jesus. It is proved by a degree of evidence which has convinced thousands of the highest minds in all ages; and which would decide any question in a court of justice. What evidence has been presented to outweigh it?

Catholic priests were forbidden to perform their religious rites; to read the Mass, to preach, to administer the sacraments. Extensive regions of Prussia were thus placed under the same kind of interdict by the Protestant Empire as that which the old Roman Church so often launched against refractory provinces or nations. A marriage could not take place; the dying man sought in vain for the extreme unction.

Passive resistance.

The pretended Roman plan of campaign was passive resistance and Christian patience, but this passive resistance was very far from being carried out. The priests and the Ultramontane press, with unremitting diligence, openly and secretly profited by their oppressions, not only to fan the passions of their own populations, but to blacken the Imperial government in the eyes of the Protestants and of the whole world at large. The Central party in the Reichstag, and the clerical body, well knew how to use this subject of eloquence. The cry of a Diocletian persecution was raised all over the country. The names of Bishop Ledochowski, Förster, Brinkmann, etc., were proclaimed as colleagues of Polycarp, Ignatius, and Justin the Martyr—as if the State had committed faithful Christians to the flames, or caused them to be cast to the wild beasts, because they had refused to abjure the Bible, and to offer incense to the Emperor William as God.

VII. The war alarms from France and Russia, the loud threats of the increasing Socialist party in the Reichstag; the power, unscrupulously used by the parties of the opposition, to unite and thus stop the wheels of government, began to be an embarrassment. Rome grew stronger and stronger; the State lost ground. The nation became either more and more excited, or more and more

disgusted, with the whole struggle, and the elections for the Reichstag began to incline against the State.

Where was the German Evangelical Church during this struggle? In a dangerous position. She is so intertwined with the State, that she must often either act as a handmaid, or not act at all. The Roman Church, on the contrary, stands alone, independent; a foreign power. The State entertains an embassy at her court; negotiates concordats with her; appoints her arbitrator in a European question (Caroline Islands). Again: Rome names her own priests, and does not permit them to question one of her dogmas. The Evangelical Church preaches the Gospel as John and Paul preached it; but, by the mixture of civil and ecclesiastical elements in her government, she is compelled to receive, ordain, and introduce into her pulpits, preachers, who there preach doctrines directly contrary to the Gospel as preached by Paul and John. Copernicus, Ptolemy, and Gallio sometimes sit side by side in her councils.

Evangelical Church.

One of the consequences of the Culture Struggle may be the gradual but complete disengagement of the Church from the State. In that case, four results would probably follow:

Possible separation of Church and State.

I. The State would lose a portion of the Christian spirit till now preserved by her union with the Church.

II. The Church, freed from her entanglements with the State, by which, to use an untranslatable German word, she has been more or less *verweltlicht* (made worldly), would more fully develop herself in the divine spirit of the Gospel.

III. A new chemical process would then take place. There is a vineyard within the vineyard. (Matt. xx.)

One of these vineyards would separate itself from the other, as the Church in her previous form had separated herself from the State. The worldly element would then fall away. The Church would regain her primeval purity and vigor; would "go out into the streets and lanes of the city," etc.; would extend more charity and aid to those on the outside; would become more acquainted with the laity, and employ them more largely in teaching the Scripture; in visiting the poor, the sick, the dying. We are blessed in all countries with eloquent preachers, but we should like to hear more of the congregations: of Andronicus, Urbane, Priscilla and Aquila, Phebe, Aristobulus, Apollos and Stephen, Titus, Timothy, Persis, "which labored much in the Lord." There would be more communion with honest doubters, particularly on subordinate points. Narrow-minded national and denominational prejudices would disappear before the idea of one universal Christian Church. Whatever reason there may be to reproach our present Protestant Church as the Church of Laodicea, it is in our time the only light-house to guide the ship over the darkest of all oceans.

IV. If the Gospel be faithfully preached amid the events about to unfold themselves upon our earth, future political governments, after being thus separated from the Church, will perhaps assume a hostile attitude. The Cæsars and Napoleons of the next century will not patiently listen to Elijah and Nathan, to John the Baptist and Peter: "I have not troubled Israel, but thou and thy Father's house."—"David, thou art the man!"—"It is not lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife."—"Peter, standing up with the eleven, lifted up his voice and said unto them: 'Him by wicked hands you have crucified and slain!'" The Church would then confront

an angry world, and tread the purifying path of poverty and persecution.

The real Culture Struggle is not between Rome and the Empire, but between the Evangelical Church and the unbelieving world. By Evangelical Church, we here mean that society of persons, not only in Germany, but in all countries and denominations, who hold fast to the divine Gospel as Paul preached it.

Modern attempts to destroy Christianity.

It is the opinion of many that the forces of unbelief may one day succeed in abolishing Christianity. The consequence would be vast political disturbances, and far greater sufferings of the masses than they have yet experienced. The attempt during the old French Revolution got up by Bishop Gobel, Anacharsis Clootz, and their ring, was followed by the culminating horrors of the Reign of Terror. It will very likely be repeated on a larger scale, and in a more respectable exterior form; but such an abolition, however respectable, can be but transitory. Christianity is too deep-rooted and has too wonderfully met the despairing cries and yearnings of mankind to be ever surrendered. A fortress continually and vainly stormed for two thousand years, justifies the belief that it is impregnable. Some professors of the university teach their class that Christianity is already abolished except among the ignorant and vulgar. This is obviously untrue. By comparing Christianity with other systems really abolished, the difference becomes clear. For instance, the Ptolemaic system is abolished. No one now believes in the epicycloidal movements of the planets around the earth. Astrology has no longer adherents among cultivated people. The Greek and Roman mythology has disappeared, except in the works of painters and poets. Is it so with

Christianity? Have Louise Michel, Most, and Bebel danced on the ruins of the last temple erected to the God of Abraham, whom Paul declared to the Athenians on the Areopagus? Has this wonderful myth been quite extinguished? Do not the most enlightened nations spend millions for the distribution of Bibles among the inhabitants of the globe? Does no preacher, in our day, in the great world centers, dare to stretch forth his hand and say: "I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ"; and are all the attentive auditors ignorant fools? Are there not in Christian countries, metropolises, towns, and villages, intelligent persons who declare that the totality of the evidence and arguments of the most eminent unbelievers have not, *in the least*, convinced that part of mankind who seek truth without prejudice, and logically examine for themselves both sides of the question? The scale has not turned even "in the estimation of a hair."

It may be said that a history ought not to be used as an apology for Christianity. Answer. The fall of the old Roman Empire; also, of the old German Empire; the Reformation; the Thirty Years' War; the Culture Struggle which has just shaken the new German Empire, bring the subject of Christianity so broadly and unavoidably across the path of the historian, that he can not omit a frank consideration of its nature and power, of its truth or falsehood, without meanly sneaking away from an obvious duty, as if he were afraid or ashamed to execute it. Even Goethe, as elsewhere said, pronounced its struggle with the world to be the real element of human history; and Gibbon has made it the subject of an entire chapter, beside continually alluding to it in the course of his work. It is the duty of every historian to present

Is it proper to defend the truth of Christianity in a history?

events and subjects, as far as he can, in what he honestly believes to be their true light; to guard the reader against error, and to point out as far as possible the plain truth. It is our duty, therefore, to teach that the highest men of science have not rejected Christianity; it is not disproved; and not abolished. There are two kinds of reasoning, that of Ptolemy and that of Copernicus. Christianity, from the stand-point of logic, can not be rejected without accepting in its place, a hypothesis ten times more improbable, impossible, unreasonable, and unproved.

Legal termination of the Culture Struggle, March and April, 1887.

The Culture Struggle was legally concluded by the Prussian Landtag, which passed a bill, the exact limits of which are not clear. It conceded to the Papal Curia the right to bring back again into Germany those Orders devoted to the care of souls; or to the exercise of Christian charitable offices; and also the female schools and other institutions of education. Upon the presentation of this bill, the Pope, through the Archbishop of Cologne, requested the Party of the Center to vote for it, upon which it was passed. The Emperor, William I., then addressed a communication to the Pope, thanking him for his conciliatory co-operation, and expressing the hope that the peace between the two denominations would never again be interrupted.

Russian Baltic Provinces, and the Greek and Roman Church.

The plan of Russia to strengthen and enlarge her Empire, by uniting under her scepter all the Slavic peoples, is one of the threatening questions now before the Empire and the world. It is leading to a cruel religious persecution of the German Protestant colony in the Russian Baltic provinces, — Esthonia, Livonia, and Curland.

The colony was planted seven hundred years ago, in the time of Barbarossa. The population of the three provinces is two millions, including two hundred and twenty thousand Protestants. Their rights as Lutherans and Germans had been repeatedly guaranteed, when the Emperor Nicholas I. began the work of destroying their nationality, laws, schools, language, and religion, for the purpose of completely transforming them into Greek Catholic Russians. The Panslavic party and the Greek Church are now carrying on this process with reckless brutality. In the present state of Europe, the German Empire dares not intervene, and little real assistance can be extended by the almost helpless Evangelical churches. The Church property has been confiscated, and pastors imprisoned and punished for preaching their doctrine. One is reminded of the dragonades of Louis XIV.* There are some indications that the Roman and Greek churches may re-unite. A new power would thus appear upon the earth, breathing the Roman Catholic spirit of the Middle Ages; called up, perhaps, by the resuscitation of the German Protestant, representative, progressive Empire. Among the dangers which lower over the path of that Empire are an alliance between France, Russia, a great, warlike, united Panslavic State, and the united Roman and Greek churches.

The following table shows the populations (of course, including heathens) under Christian political governments, in 1880:

Roman Catholic	192,000,000
Greek Church	110,000,000
Under Protestant governments	445,000,000
Total	747,000,000

The above table is extracted from the pamphlet, called "Growth of Christianity during Nineteen Centuries," by van Lennep and Schauffler.

* Im Banne Moskau's — von Dr. Neubert. Diaconus in Dresden. Verlag von Klein in Barmen.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE THIRD GERMANY—CONTINUED.

THE EMPIRE FROM 1878 TO 1888—THE SEPTENNAT—EMPEROR'S NINETIETH BIRTHDAY — WAR ALARMS — LANDWEHR AND LANDSTURM BILL—MALADY OF THE CROWN-PRINCE—DEATH OF THE EMPEROR WILLIAM I.—FREDERIC III., EMPEROR—DEATH OF FREDERIC III. — WILLIAM II., EMPEROR — CONCLUSION.

FOR about fourteen years after the war of 1870, France gave Germany little trouble. In 1885, she appeared sufficiently recovered to commence preparations for a war of revenge. The incendiary Deroulède traveled through Russia and Denmark, fanning the war-fire, and seeking alliances. Boulanger, who thus far appears only as an adventurer aiming at dictatorial power, became Minister of War, and worked at a great reorganization of the French army. The French government sought nearer relations with Russia, whose Oriental plans might be so greatly facilitated by a French alliance. The German Empire, standing in the center of Europe, surrounded by powerful military neighbors, all armed far above their financial means, sought to guard herself against contingencies. An alliance with Austria and Italy gave her strength; but should France and Russia unite, who could guarantee the result? At that time the Empire was weakened by the Culture Struggle. The Opposition in the Reichstag was bitter, narrow-minded, and unpatriotic.

The Centralists, who had proclaimed their power and will to overthrow the Empire, were strengthened by the co-operation of the Poles, Socialists, Free-thinkers, members from Alsace-Lorraine, etc. The question was, what would Germany do, should France spring a war upon her as she did in 1870, when the temptation was not half so strong? In view of this danger, the Imperial government laid a military bill before the Reichstag, asking an appropriation for the period of seven years, in order to meet the expense of adding forty-one thousand men to the German army on the western frontier; of strengthening the fortresses; and of building railroads between strategic points. The force in time of peace by this bill would be four hundred and sixty-eight thousand. The soldier was not required to serve for seven years. The time of his service was not to be changed. The word *Septennat* meant only that the appropriation was asked, and this force was to be maintained for seven years, even in peace. The danger of war was declared to be so great that the military strength of the country ought not to depend upon the shifting majorities of the Reichstag, so liable to be influenced by mere party considerations. The bill was obviously approved by the nation, which saw that the disadvantage of the comparatively small financial addition was far more than outweighed by the benefit of preserving the Empire from the possibility of a French invasion.

A glance into the interior of the Reichstag at this moment will perhaps be the shortest way to give the reader an idea, not only of the formidable foreign enemies encircling the Empire, but of those leagued together within it, and even on the floor of its Parliament. We shall see also what a dangerous ordeal the

parliamentary system was called to pass through, and how successfully it passed through it.

The hall of the Reichstag is crowded to overflowing. The representatives of all the great Powers fill the diplomatic box. Hundreds in the street strive in vain to get into the building. The Chancellor rises to speak. A breathless interest hushes the hall; not awakened by the mere expectation of eloquence, but by the fact that, from the part he has played in history and from his superior sources, the speaker is better informed on the question than any one else present. And what is the question? Not alone shall the bill be passed; but shall a French army, invited by the dissensions in the Reichstag, break suddenly over the frontier, drunk with victory, mad for revenge, and bent on dragging back Germany into her old vassalage.

A glance into the Reichstag.

The Chancellor speaks; with few gestures, without excitement or attempt at display:

"Whether we are to have a war with France now or in ten years, I know not. It depends upon the violently flowing currents of events in France, where changes take place with astonishing rapidity. Twenty-four hours before Freycinet fell, who thought of such a thing? Yet out of this crisis a government may rise which can only exist by a German war. The war fire is carefully nursed, that it may be kindled at the desired moment into a full conflagration. Such a war is possible. Should we find ourselves suddenly involved in it, we should have an opportunity to judge the phrases of some of the speakers here, such as: *We will not now pass this bill; but, in case the enemy invade our land, then we will give our last groschen*, etc., etc. The enemy would laugh at such phrases. Who dare say that France has no intention to make a war, and that she is not determined to re-conquer Alsace? Not a French Ministry has yet had the courage to say: *We renounce Strassburg; we accept the peace of Frankfort.* Why does no French Ministry dare to say this in public? Because they know that the public opinion in France,

which lies like a powder mine under their feet, would blow them up immediately. Now I ask, is not the possibility of a war a sufficient justification for this bill? The probability of a war diminishes in proportion to our military strength. The moment we are weak enough to be beaten, war will come. Our military leaders, who have measured weapons with France, declare the bill absolutely necessary for the safety of the country. A civilian must have a strange kind of courage to contradict the opinion of such authorities. Let no one deceive himself with regard to the French power! France is a great, mighty government, a brave people like ourselves. You (turning to the Left) underrate the strength of France. The possibility, not only of a war, but of a defeat, is always there; and you must not forget what the consequences of such an event would be. If a victorious French army stood before the gates of Berlin, what conditions, do you think, would be imposed upon us?"

The Chancellor speaks several hours.

Moltke then advances slowly, and takes his stand on the floor. The great soldier has grown older. His voice is less strong and clear. (There is an enemy whose advance no military bill can prevent). He speaks low, and only a few words. He is without doubt the highest military authority now living; and the members of the Reichstag, without reference to party, gradually approach near, forming a close phalanx around him. In the deep silence his voice is clearly heard. We extract only a few words:

"Whether we cast our eyes to the right or left, we find our neighbors *armed* at an expense which the richest government can only bear for a time. This necessitates a speedy crisis; and renders the proposed increase of our military force absolutely indispensable, no matter what financial sacrifice that increase may require. Our force is comparatively small, and, according to the percentage of the population, we have called out fewer men than any of the other great Powers. France has expended on her army double the sum expended by Germany. From this you may judge as to the necessity of accepting the bill. The corresponding demand of the French War Minister was granted by the Chamber without the least opposition.

Some speakers have counseled a kind of alliance with France, an attempt to awaken in her people a love of peace. This would be certainly desirable; but as long as the public opinion there positively and recklessly demands back the Western German provinces, while we are firmly determined never to give them back [*enthusiastic applause from all sides*], we must make up our mind to be ready for war. Others have pointed to our alliance with Austria as a sufficient guarantee for peace. This alliance is indeed valuable, but it is not wise to depend upon the help of others; and I must confess my belief that a great State stands most secure when it depends (under God) upon its own strength alone. The bill has been attacked from a financial stand-point, but an unsuccessful war would cost far more than the most expensive military organization. I think you, as well as our allies, are convinced that the administration of our military department is honest and economical. It is plain to me that, when you attack this bill, you take upon yourself a very heavy responsibility; for you know how much misery follows a foreign invasion. We have, by great sacrifices, at last obtained what all Germans have for years desired. We have a strong Empire. We have unity. May we preserve them! The whole world knows we are not seeking for conquest. Let the whole world know also that what we have obtained we intend to keep." [*Loud continued applause.*]

At another time he said:

"After a war which has produced such great changes in Europe, it seemed scarcely possible that we could enjoy a peace of fifteen years. This blessing we owe to the wisdom of our Emperor, and to the policy of his Chancellor. As far as I can judge, it has not yet been seen in the history of the world, that a powerful State, while accomplishing such great social missions in the interior, has exercised its power, not to domineer over its neighbors, but to maintain peace with them; and still more, to prevent their making war upon each other. Such a policy could not be carried out unless supported by a powerful army."

The debates were attentively followed by the whole European, we may almost say American public. Impartial observers could scarcely believe that, under such circumstances, the Reichstag would reject the bill, and

thus blazon forth to foreign enemies that the Empire was weakened by internal dissensions. The result astonished the nation. The bill was first submitted to a commission, which criticised it as a school-master might criticise a boy's composition. After two months' delay, they returned it to the *plenum*, where it was again bitterly attacked. The Opposition assumed to know more than Bismarck of the political state of Germany and Europe; and more than Moltke with regard to the military force required. Not the least regard was paid to their earnestly expressed warnings. Windthorst declared that *the alliance with Austria was a sufficient guarantee for peace; no consideration would induce him to grant more than four hundred and fifty thousand men, and that only for three years.* This looked as if there were some cause to think that the three great men who, under God, had founded the Empire, had become incompetent to administer its affairs, or unworthy to be trusted with the sum they asked. The under-officers of a war-ship in a storm may take the helm from the commander if they can show a good reason—for instance, insanity or treason—but not otherwise. There were persons in the American Civil War who carried on the same opposition against President Lincoln, representing him as a Catiline, aiming at dictatorial power in order to trample on the liberties of his country. Every man of common sense knew that such apprehensions were equally absurd in both cases. Therefore, when (January 14) the *Septennat* was rejected, and in its place a bill, proposed by Stauffenberg, for three years instead of seven, was substituted, by a vote of one hundred and eighty-six against one hundred and fifty-four; and when, amid general excitement, the Chan-

Rejection of the Septennat.

cellor read a message from the Emperor, dissolving the Reichstag—the way the great statesman was received by the immense multitude in the street, as he left the building; as well as afterward, by the loud applause of the nation, showed that the people were heart and hand with the government, and not with the Reichstag. The parliamentary is the best of all systems, where the people are intelligent, educated, and religious; and when the Parliament has not got into the hands of enemies, perhaps foreign enemies. The people will perceive whether it is in danger of being used by a clique, not for the good of the country, but for party purposes. A strong opposition is a useful balance in a representative government, but only when it is wise and honest. Germany had suffered much from the want of an adequate army. She had not forgotten Jena (1806), and Schwarzenberg (1850), and the refusal of the Prussian Landtag to vote the money asked for the war of 1866, and the ferocious leap of France upon Germany in 1870. The United States (and they may well thank God for it) do not require a great standing army. They are surrounded by no giant, war-like governments. They fear no secret alliances. No pretender is intriguing to effect a "fraternization of their army with the people," that he may ascend the American throne. The case of European countries is different, and particularly that of the German Empire. She has within her limits various explosive elements; and she is surrounded by neighbors, some of whom are secretly waiting an opportunity to destroy her; one openly seeking revenge. The Oriental question so complicates affairs, that scarcely any alliance can be pronounced sure.

While this was going on in Germany, the French war

party was working with fanatical energy for a sudden war. Large purchases of horses were made and enormous temporary barracks erected on the German frontier. A certain agitation passed through Europe. Belgium, Italy, Switzerland made preparations to arm. It seemed as if a German and French war, which might easily become a European one, depended upon the rejection or adoption of the *Septennat*. The elections had been fixed for February 21, five weeks after the dissolution. The voters were informed by the Opposition that every man would have to serve *seven years;* but that the war cry was a swindle, got up by the government merely to facilitate the increase of taxes and to obtain, not a *Triennat*, not a *Septennat*, but an *Eternat*.

In the midst of this excitement, the Pope advised the Centralists to abandon their opposition to the bill. A piece of blue sky had broken through the clouds of the Culture Struggle, announcing a reconciliation. We can here see what a power the Pope may sometimes exercise in Germany; how he may stop the wheels of government; how he may cause to be rejected the most important bill; what danger he may bring upon the country.

Elections.

The immense result of the elections astonished every one. The Emperor, who had been deeply pained on seeing that, after his services to the country, and at his advanced age, the representatives of the people had offered him an insulting vote of distrust, found that he had achieved another victory almost as important as those at Königgrätz and Sedan. He had appealed from the representatives of the nation to the nation itself, and it had fully responded to his wish. On March 11, the new Reichstag met and passed the *Septen-*

nat, two hundred and twenty-seven against thirty-one votes. The Centralists had been returned in full strength. They did not vote for the bill, but they abstained from voting against it. The votes against the bill were from Free-thinkers, Social Democrats, Poles, members from Alsace, and others inimical to the Empire. These parties by the election had lost half their members. The war cloud, at least for the moment, passed away. Europe breathed more freely.

Septennat passed.

On March 22, 1887, the Emperor celebrated his ninetieth birthday, and declared that the nation could not have made him a more valuable present than the *Septennat*. On this day, perhaps, he reached the highest point of earthly grandeur. Every German prince came in person or sent a representative. The following foreign governments also sent representatives: Austria-Hungary, England, Russia, Italy, Sweden and Norway, Belgium, Denmark, Roumania, Pope Leo XIII., the Turkish Sultan, Holland, even France. Few mortals, not to speak of sovereigns, have ever enjoyed so long a life, marked by such illustrious deeds, streaming with so pure a glory and so distinguished by merited esteem and affection. But it is dangerous to reach the summit of happiness. The earth is not our home; nor intended to be our final resting-place. Its highest felicity is but a shadow. The ninetieth birthday was the last. Had he passed away without some sorrow to remind him of the insufficiency of human grandeur, of the evanescence even of the noblest life, he would have stood alone among men. This was not given to him. The closing period of his reign was darkened by various sorrows. The frightful murder of his nephew, the Russian Emperor Alexander II. (1881); the increase

Emperor's ninetieth birthday.

of the Socialist party and the boldness with which their leaders, from the floor of the Reichstag, in the face of the government and people, branded Christianity and God as exploded superstitions; approved the Communist horrors in Paris; and boasted (particularly the member Bebel) that they were but the small drops of a deluge which was coming over the whole world; rejoiced at the murder of the Russian Emperor, and declared their intention, should they deem it necessary, to inflict the same fate upon the Emperor of Germany—these indications of the spirit of the time, were a pain to the Christian sovereign just about to leave the earth. After elevating his country to such a height, he had a right to hope that the German people would throw flowers beneath his horses' feet. There were flowers indeed, but they had been mingled with bullets from the hand of assassins.

In May, 1878, as with his daughter, the Grand Duchess of Baden, he drove through the Linden (the chief street of Berlin), a man fired three revolver shots into the carriage, but happily missed his mark. It is declared that the grand duchess, after the first shot, bent over her father, in order to protect him. The public indignation was, a few weeks subsequently, heightened by another and, if possible, more execrable crime. A man named Nobeling, as the Emperor drove along the Linden, fired at him two charges of mixed shot, one after the other, from a double-barreled musket, severely wounding him in the face, head, and arms. The carriage was overflowed with blood. The people thought him killed. But in three months he had sufficiently recovered to be taken (September 1) to Gastein. On his return to the metropolis, the assembled population welcomed him with such

a welcome as he had scarcely ever experienced before. He continued to drive around the town as usual. Somebody remarked: "Your Majesty has been saved *as if* by a miracle." "No," he replied, "not *as if* by a miracle; *by* a miracle." This catastrophe was soon followed by another. Almost at the moment when not only all his own subjects, but nearly all the principal governments of the earth, were bowing down before him, as the sheaves of Joseph's brethren bowed down before the sheaf of Joseph, the darkest danger which had ever fallen upon him or his country, rose suddenly in his path. While France was girding on her armor and waiting only the moment, Russia appeared to have formed an alliance with her for the destruction of the German Empire. A large body of Russian troops were collected upon the Prussian and Austrian frontiers, with an ample provision of war material. The three and a half *Armeecorps* of Germany, and the two of Austria found themselves suddenly in front of eight and a half Russian *Armeecorps*, including a mass of cavalry; as if, at the same time, Russia was preparing to break into Germany on the east, and France, with her immensely increased army, on the west. The idea seemed to be, Constantinople can be conquered only in Berlin. The Emperor William called to his council-chamber the Prince William (the present Emperor), Moltke, Waldersee, and other high military authorities. A significant answer was speedily given to the movements of the great neighbors. A bill was laid before the Reichstag, called the *Landwehr and Landsturm-law*, authorizing the State to add more than half a million men to the regular army; thus enabling the Emperor to place one million soldiers on the Russian frontier; a second million on the French frontier; and to

hold a third million in reserve. After a powerful speech of Bismarck, which, says a German writer, "thrilled through the heart of Europe," this bill was unanimously accepted (February 6, 1888). The army was further strengthened by contingents from Austria-Hungary and Italy. It was not intended to attack, but only to defend. The sword of Germany was to remain in the scabbard till the first invader crossed the frontier. The words of Moltke and Bismarck were justified by the result. Bismarck had said: "The probability of war diminishes in proportion to our military strength." Moltke had said: "The whole world knows we are not seeking for conquest. Let the whole world know, also, that what we have obtained we intend to keep!" Germany was blessed with another year of peace.

But a cloud of a different kind, if possible a still darker one, had gradually descended upon the Imperial family. Amid the splendor of the Emperor's ninetieth birthday, a malady of the Crown-prince, Frederic William, began to take a terrible form. The prince spent the winter of 1887–1888 in the Villa Zirio, at San Remo, on the Italian coast, between Genoa and Nice, where his malady made rapid progress and left little hope of recovery. Many foreign governments, including that of the United States, sent expressions of sympathy. Not only the Emperor was alarmed for the heir of the throne, but the father was struck to the heart by the mental and bodily suffering of his son; and, risking the severe winter, prepared to visit him personally at San Remo. The physicians would not consent. At this moment one of his beloved grandsons suddenly died, the young Prince Ludwig of Baden. Then the Emperor himself took cold. The ever-increasing crowds, at last

more than ten thousand, who were accustomed to collect in the broad street and square commanding a view of the windows of the Emperor's working-room, now waited long, and waited in vain. It had been an interesting sight to see this crowd, augmented by all strangers and travelers in Berlin, waiting to get a look at the Emperor before he left them for another world, and every one believing his look was the last. Some one once said to him: "Your Majesty is very kind to show yourself at the window." "Oh," he answered, "that is now my duty! Baedecker" (the German guide-book) "says I am every day to be seen at the window when the guard passes!" His last appearance had been on February 26. Then the Emperor himself appeared, his granddaughter-in-law, the Princess William (of Schleswig-Holstein—the present Empress) holding her youngest son upon her arm, and her three other sons standing before her. (These four little fellows, in their turn, may each ascend the Imperial throne.) That was a subject for a photograph.

Death of the Emperor William I., March 9.

The Emperor's cold grew worse. He had so often recovered from such attacks, that there was at first no particular idea of danger. But the time comes at last to all. On March 7, the first Official Bulletin was issued. It stated that the "Emperor was ill; his strength was gradually ebbing away." Bad news was received also from the crown-prince. (The press of all countries has so fully described this strange and touching story, that we refer only to a few details.) The dying Emperor and the dying heir to his throne never again saw each other. The telegraph kept them informed. Prince William, the heir after the crown-prince, passed rapidly between Berlin and San Remo in the fulfillment of his affectionate double duty.

On March 8, all the Imperial family in Berlin, including the Empress Augusta, Bismarck, Moltke, and others, assembled in the room of the Emperor, who, like the dying David (1 Kings ii.), gave his last counsels. To the Chancellor and the young Prince William (the present Emperor), among other things, he said: "Maintain honestly the Austrian alliance." (He saw the dangers of the Empire—Russia on the east, the Oriental caldron on the south, and France on the west.) "Be very careful and prudent," he said, "with the Emperor of Russia." He spoke of the army; of alliances; of the possibility of war. His mind, sometimes, for a moment wandered in a light delirium, from which he still returned to the subjects which interested him. Dr. Kögel, at frequent intervals, prayed and read from the Scriptures; the Emperor often interrupting him with exclamations: "*Right!*" —"*Good!*" After Dr. Kögel had read the verse of the 23d Psalm: "Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for thou art with me," the Duchess of Baden, using the affectionate German diminutive, said: "Papachen, didst thou hear what Dr. Kögel just read?" The Emperor answered: "*That is beautiful!*" He spoke with composure to all present; took leave of all; affectionately and gratefully thanked Bismarck and Moltke for their immense services. His daughter asked: "Papachen, does not so much speaking tire thee?" He replied: "My child, I have no more time to be tired." He then took her hand and said: "My child! thou comest from the sick bed of thy brother at San Remo; thou hast just buried thy own son; and now——" the sentence was left unfinished. About four o'clock in the morning of the 9th, all the family were around his bed. It was obvious that his end was approaching.

His breath became shorter. As the Empress Augusta stood by him, he reached out his arm toward her, and said: "*Hand! Hand!*" She extended her hand. He took it, and did not again relinquish it. His daughter at last said: "Papachen, dost thou know that mamachen is sitting on thy bed, and that thou art holding her hand?" He opened his eyes, gazed for a moment at the Empress, closed them, and did not open them again. Some faint sounds came from his lips; among them were the words: "*My poor Fritz!*" Dr. Kögel offered a prayer for the parting spirit, all present kneeling around the bed. A deep-drawn sigh was heard. The hand still held that of the Empress; but the Emperor himself was no longer present. The hero of Königgrätz; the victor of Gravelotte; who on his proud war charger at Sedan had received the thundering congratulations of his army; who had been so victorious in war; so modest in peace; so patient in suffering; so faithful to friends; so generous to enemies; so meek in his great office; so laborious for his Fatherland; so high among men; so humble before God; had gone the way of all the earth.

Thoughts on the Emperor William I.

Great as is the respect now paid to him, it will become greater. Time will aggrandize, mellow, and beautify the impression he has left upon the world. He was at once a mighty Emperor and an humble Christian. His balanced character is one of the rarest, and recalls Washington and Abraham Lincoln. He could not so well have conducted the State without Bismarck, or planned the war campaign without Moltke. Both these, however, were chosen by him, and acted by his direction. Neither Bismarck nor Moltke would have wielded the scepter as wisely and as successfully as he did. He remained always master of every

one under him. Even in the weightiest and most perilous crises with his giant Chancellor; and in his military councils with the silent but firm Moltke, while often deferring to each, and while wisely abstaining from meddling in affairs he had once intrusted to them, he never let the reins of government out of his hand. When he thought it proper to decide, he decided, and the decision was final. And, to the honor of his great subordinates be it remarked that, with the reverence of servants for a master and of subjects for a king, they always willingly rendered to him perfect, affectionate, absolute obedience. He was "every inch a king," and the oldest sovereign of the earth. With the aid of his two great co-laborers, he had called up the ancient German Empire, and governed it wisely and Christianly for eighteen years. He has left it in as prosperous a state as was possible in our transition period, amid the turbulent opposing currents of modern thought and passions. We can not overestimate its beneficent influence. Its vast army and navy give to its wish almost the power of a command.

It is a peace Empire, although founded by blood and iron. To use the simple words of Moltke: "Every one knows that it is not an Empire for conquest." Its object is to maintain peace in the world; and it has thus far maintained it.

It is a Christian Empire, and its first Emperor has bravely and faithfully lifted upon its battlements the broad and ancient banner of the Gospel; thus frankly confronting all the opposite systems as chaff which the wind driveth away (and, in support of which, there is not half as much proof as Ptolemy had for his colossal error). Under the Empire (but first commenced by the Great Elector of Brandenburg) the colonization of Africa

has made great progress, opening that dark region to the light of the Gospel. The Emperor had earnestly taken up the cause of the masses; and the laws already adopted at his instigation will, it is hoped, when more fully developed in the spirit of Christianity, prove the best means of suppressing the criminal and insane plans of godless charlatans.

Finally, his religious life, his Christian death, the words he spoke as he passed through the valley of great darkness, will strengthen many a timid heart frightened by the false report that science has disproved the existence of a Creator.

Bismarck in the Reichstag.

At noon Prince Bismarck appeared in the Reichstag, and scarcely restraining his tears, during a silence like that of the grave, officially announced the death of the Emperor and the accession of Frederic the Third. He added that the departed Emperor had mentioned two causes from which in his last hours he had derived consolation, namely: first, that the suffering of his son had called forth a sympathy which proved that the world placed confidence in the Hohenzollern dynasty; secondly, that the chief mission of his whole life, the unification of the German people, had been so successfully accomplished. The Chancellor added: "His Majesty expressed to me these thoughts *yesterday*."

The body of the Emperor, at his own request, was deposited in the mausoleum at Charlottenburg, between the sarcophagi of his father and mother.

We have had but an indistinct view of Frederic III. as Emperor. He moved before us only for a moment; then, like a silent specter, vanished from our gaze. Of a mild and knightly character; distinguished as a sol-

dier; esteemed as crown-prince; he had already won the affection of his people. If, as some suppose, he had ever seriously felt the influence of the skeptical philosophy, his subsequent life justifies the hope that he had passed, or was passing, through a transition state when called upon to confront one of the most awful tribulations imaginable. He had reached the age of fifty-seven when called to office. The nation greeted his accession with joyful emotion. Not an obstacle stood between him and the highest throne in the world. A dazzling vision stretched before him of every thing that the earth can offer. Yet, as he advanced to mount the stately ascent of power, he had not the strength to continue. The scepter extended to him he could not hold. The fatal truth became every day clearer. He was not ascending the throne; he was descending into the grave. The loud shouts of the multitude were but the echoes of a receding world. Not the Imperial golden crown, but the crown of thorns, was appointed for him. During his reign of three and a half months, he wore this crown with perfect resignation to the will of God. On the birthday of his daughter Sophia, very near the hour of his death, being unable to speak, he wrote and handed her the following: "Dearest child, be always good and pious as you have ever been."

Frederic III., Emperor, March 9, 1888. His death, June 25.

And so, without a murmur of complaint or a sign of impatience, after a night of great suffering, he passed gently away on the morning of June 25, and left the throne to his son William II. His sublime equanimity, during this fiery ordeal, has left a deep impression upon the world. Not one of the great line of stately Emperors has bequeathed to mankind a nobler example.

FREDERIC III.,

Emperor of Germany.

CONCLUSION.

THE re-appearance of the old German Empire is a world event, the meaning and consequences of which are not yet revealed to man. It was accompanied by other world events in harmony with it, as the alto-relievos on the pedestal of a colossal statue correspond in dimension to the statue. The first Napoleon cleared the way for it. The third Napoleon helped to re-erect it. The scenes and *dramatis personæ* are all on the same large scale; a warlike Pope striving to bring the world again under his dominion; a peaceful Pope taking a step forward in executing the plan; a German king like Charlemagne; a Chancellor more powerful than Richelieu; Emperors, kings, bishops, orators, revolutionists, demagogues, assassins crowd the stage as supernumeraries. Scene I., Rome, the center of the ancient world; interior of the grandest structure of the world; assembly, consisting of all the bishops of the world, who adopt the most astounding dogma of the world. Scene II., Paris, the metropolis of the world, inundated with blood; roaring in the flames of revolution; demagogues preaching atheism as the only salvation of the world.

Our task is done, although we break off in the middle. Much of interest has been left unwritten; but time, space, and, if the truth may be told, strength fail. We have at least fulfilled our intention to introduce to the reader the resuscitated Empire in its modern form, with some of the causes which have called it back to life, and some of the dangers which threaten its existence.

William II. Emperor, June 25, 1888.

We must leave to other and abler hands the events accumulating around the young Christian Emperor, just called to the chief command. He is advancing in the right direction. The happiness of thousands; the peace of Europe; the security and glory of the Empire, depend upon his movements.

The dramatist possesses an advantage over the historian. His work has a beginning and an end. He unfolds his plot, awakens expectation, and gratifies curiosity. Lady Macbeth dies under the weight of her crime. Macbeth is outwitted by the demon whom he still hath served; Birnam Wood comes to Dunsanane; and the man "not of woman born," addresses the true heir to the throne:

> "Hail, king! for so thou art: Behold where stands
> The usurper's cursed head."

But the historian of our present time must often cut short his narrative at the most interesting point. He has awakened curiosity which he can not satisfy. He has called up questions which no one can yet answer. It is as if the stage, with all its scenery, events, and characters, were suddenly withdrawn from the audience, just as Shylock has cried:

> "*Most learned judge!—A sentence! come! prepare!*"

and Portia has answered:

> "*Tarry a little!—there is something else.*"

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

CHARLEMAGNE.

(*See page 103, note.*)

Olger the Dane and Desiderio,
King of the Lombards, on a lofty tower
Stood gazing northward o'er the rolling plains,
League after league of harvests, to the foot
Of the snow-crested Alps, and saw approach
A mighty army, thronging all the roads
That led into the city. And the King
Said unto Olger, who had passed his youth
As hostage at the court of France, and knew
The Emperor's form and face: "Is Charlemagne
Among that host?" And Olger answered: "No."

And still the innumerable multitude
Flowed onward and increased, until the King
Cried in amazement: "Surely Charlemagne
Is coming in the midst of all these knights!"
And Olger answered slowly: "No; not yet;
He will not come so soon." Then much disturbed
King Desiderio asked: "What shall we do,
If he approach with a still greater army?"
And Olger answered: "When he shall appear,
You will behold what manner of man he is;
But what will then befall us I know not."

Then came the guard that never knew repose,
The Paladins of France; and at the sight
The Lombard King o'ercome with terror cried:
"This must be Charlemagne!" and as before
Did Olger answer: "No; not yet, not yet."

And then appeared in panoply complete
The Bishops and the Abbots and the Priests
Of the Imperial chapel, and the Counts;
And Desiderio could no more endure
The light of day, nor yet encounter death,
But sobbed aloud and said: "Let us go down
And hide us in the bosom of the earth,
Far from the sight and anger of a foe
So terrible as this!" And Olger said:
"When you behold the harvests in the fields
Shaking with fear, the Po and the Ticino
Lashing the city walls with iron waves,
Then may you know that Charlemagne is come.'
And even as he spake, in the north-west,
Lo! there uprose a black and threatening cloud,
Out of whose bosom flashed the light of arms
Upon the people pent up in the city;
A light more terrible than any darkness;
And Charlemagne appeared;—a Man of Iron!

His helmet was of iron, and his gloves
Of iron, and his breastplate and his greaves
And tassets were of iron, and his shield.
In his left hand he held an iron spear,
In his right hand his sword invincible.
The horse he rode on had the strength of iron,
And color of iron. All who went before him,
Beside him and behind him, his whole host,
Were armed with iron, and their hearts within them
Were stronger than the armor that they wore.
The fields and all the roads were filled with iron,
And points of iron glistened in the sun
And shed a terror through the city streets.

This at a single glance Olger the Dane
Saw from the tower, and turning to the King
Exclaimed in haste: "Behold! this is the man
You looked for with such eagerness!" and then
Fell as one dead at Desiderio's feet.

—LONGFELLOW.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS OF THE EMPEROR FREDERIC III. TO DR. KÖGEL.

(*See page 1248.*)

"With firm confidence, and full of faith and hope in the help of the Lord, who is leading me into a new year of my life, I look confidently forward to the future."

October, 1887.

"The only physician above will order every thing according to His will. I submit myself cheerfully to Him now, as I have at all times of my life."

1888.

"May God's grace and mercy be fulfilled in me during my affliction. Every thing depends upon His blessing."

1888.

INDEX.

CHRONOLOGICAL (SYNCHRONISTIC) TABLE No. II, from 1500 to our day.

GERMAN EMPIRE.

1500	1493-1519	Maximilian I., Emperor.
	1519-1556	Charles V., also King of Spain.
	1556-1564	Ferdinand I.
	1564-1576	Maximilian II.
	1576-1612	Rudolph II.
1600	1612-1619	Mathias.
	1619-1637	Ferdinand II. (Thirty Years' War. 1618-1648.)
	1637-1657	Ferdinand III.
	1657-1705	Leopold I., reigned 48 years.
1700	1705-1711	Joseph I.
	1711-1740	Charles VI. Pragmatic Sanction. Appoints his daughter, Maria Theresa, Empress after his death.
	1740-1780	Maria Theresa. Great Powers dispute the Pragmatic Sanction. Hence the war of Austrian succession kindled by Frederic by the Silesian wars.
	1742-1745	Charles VII. elected German Emperor. Charles Albert of Bavaria. War of Austrian succession continued.
	1745-1765	Francis I. of Lorraine, husband of Maria Theresa, elected Emperor. Reigned 20 years, during which Maria Theresa was the real Emperor.
	1765-1790	Joseph II., son of Maria Theresa. His mother continued to be real Emperor to her death.
	1780	Maria Theresa dies, aged 63. Reigned 40 years.
	1780-1790	Joseph II. (alone).
	1790-1792	Leopold II., brother of Joseph and Maria Antoinette, Queen of France.
	1792-1806	Francis II., son of Leopold; after battle of Austerlitz in 1806 laid down the German crown and
1800		took the title of Francis I., Emperor of Austria.

EMPIRE OF AUSTRIA.

1806-1835	Francis I.
1835-1848	Ferdinand I.
1848	Francis Joseph I.

BRANDENBURG AND PRUSSIA.

1640-1688	Great Elector of Brandenburg, reigned 48 years. When he mounted the throne, Ferdinand II. was German Emperor, Louis XIII. King of France; but during nearly the whole of his reign the German throne was occupied by Leopold I. and the French throne by Louis XIV. Succeeded by his son,
1688-1701	Frederic III., Elector of Brandenburg. He becomes King of Prussia as
1701-1713	Frederic I., and reigned 12 years. He caused himself to be crowned at Königsberg as King of Prussia.
1713-1740	Frederic William I.
1740-1786	Frederic II. the Great reigned 46 years. Silesian war. During nearly his entire reign, Louis XV. was King of France.
1786-1797	Frederic William II.
1797-1840	Frederic William III.
1840-1861	Frederic William IV.
1861	William I., King of Prussia. (In 1871, William I. became Emperor of Germany.)
1888	Frederic III., March 9.
1888	William II., June 25.

FRANCE.

1515-1547	Francis I.
1547-1559	Henry II.
1559-1560	Francis II.
1560-1574	Charles IX.
1574-1589	Henry III.
1589-1610	Henry IV.
1610-1643	Louis XIII.
1643-1661	Louis XIV. under the Regency of his mother, Anne of Austria, and Mazarin.
1661-1715	Louis XIV. assumes the throne on the death of Mazarin. He reigned 54 years, raised France to be the first European power. During a great part of his reign Leopold I. was German Emperor. Louis survived Leopold 10 years, and his successor Joseph 4 years, and died during the reign of the Emperor Charles VI.
1715-1723	Regency of Philip of Orleans (infamous father of the infamous Egalité), during the minority of Louis XV.
1723-1774	Louis XV., king.
1774-1793	Louis XVI. guillotined after a reign of 19 years. Francis II., last Emperor of Germany, was then on the throne.
1793-1804	Republic. Louis XVII. (a boy who did not reign).
1799-1804	Consulate.
1804-1814	Napoleon I.
1814-1824	Louis XVIII.
1824-1830	Charles X.
1830-1848	Louis Philippe.
1848-1852	Republic.
1852-1870	Napoleon III.
1870	Republic.

RUSSIA.

1533-1584	Ivan II.
1584-1598	Feodor I.
1598-1606	Boris.
1606-1613	Basil.
1613-1645	Michael Romanoff.
1645-1676	Alexis.
1676-1682	Feodor IV.
1682-1689	Ivan III. and Peter I.
1689-1725	Peter I., Emperor, founded St. Petersburg, became sole ruler of Russia, took the title of Emperor of all the Russias (1721).
1725-1727	Catherine I., wife of Peter, Empress. A private life of shameless immorality.
1727-1730	Peter II.
1730-1740	Anne.
1741-1762	Elisabeth, daughter of Peter I. and Catharine. Marked by sensuality and cruelty. She was the enemy of Frederic the Great in the Seven Years' War. Under her the Russian Court was a scene of licentious disorder. One can understand the bitterness with which Frederic spoke of her.
1762	Peter III. dethroned, murdered, succeeded by
1762-1796	Catherine II., his wife, who, in collusion with Prussia and Austria, perpetrated the first partition of Poland (1772). Also disgraced by gross private immorality.
1796-1801	Paul I. murdered.
1801-1825	Alexander I., Emperor, friend of Frederic William III. of Prussia.
1825-1855	Nicolas, brother of Alexander.
1855-1881	Alexander II. Murdered by the Nihilists.
1881	Alexander III.

ENGLAND.

1509-1547	Henry VIII.
1547-1553	Edward VI.
1553-1558	Mary.
1558-1603	Elizabeth.
1603-1625	House of Stuart. 4 kings. James I., son of Mary, Queen of Scots.
1625-1649	Charles I., son of the preceding, beheaded.
1649-1658	Oliver Cromwell, Protector of the Commonwealth of England.
1658-1659	Richard Cromwell, his son, Protector.
1660-1685	Charles II., son of Charles I.
1685-1688	James II., his brother. Fled from the revolution.
1689-1702	William III., Prince of Orange, king, and Mary, daughter of James II., queen.
1702-1714	Anne, also daughter of James II.
1714-1727	George I., House of Hanover. Elector of Hanover, grandson of Elizabeth, daughter of James I.
1727-1760	George II., his son.
1760-1820	George III., grandson of George II.
1820-1830	George IV.
1830-1837	William IV.
1837	Victoria.

SPAIN.

1512-1516	Ferdinand V.
1516-1556	Charles I.
1556-1598	Philip II.
1598-1621	Philip III.
1621-1665	Philip IV.
1665-1700	Charles II.
1700-1724	Philip V. abdicated.
1724-1746	Louis Philip V. again.
1746-1759	Ferdinand VI.
1759-1788	Charles III.
1788-1808	Charles IV. abdicated.
1808-1814	Ferdinand VII. dethroned. Joseph Bonaparte.
1814-1833	Ferdinand VII. restored.
1833-1868	Isabella II.
1868-1870	Spanish revolution in Cadiz.
1870-1873	After the renunciation by the Prince of Hohenzollern, the Cortes elected Amadeo I., King of Spain.
1873-1875	Carlist civil war.
1875-1885	Alphonso XII., king. Alphonso XIII. (3 years old).

HOLLAND.

1579-1584	William of Orange, Stadtholder.
1584-1625	Maurice of Orange.
1625-1647	Frederic Henry.
1647-1650	William II.
1650-1672	No Stadtholder.
1672-1702	William Henry (William III., of England).
1702-1747	No Stadtholder.
1747-1751	William IV.
1751-1795	William V.
1795	Annexed to France.
1806-1814	Louis Bonaparte king.

NETHERLANDS.

1814-1840	William I., king.
1840-1849	William II.
1849	William III.

BELGIUM.

1831-1865	Leopold I.
1865	Leopold II.

DENMARK.

1513-1523	Christian II.
1523-1533	Frederic I.
1533-1559	Christian III.
1559-1588	Frederic II.
1588-1648	Christian IV.
1648-1670	Frederic III.
1670-1699	Christian V.
1699-1730	Frederic IV.
1730-1746	Christian VI.
1746-1766	Frederic V.
1766-1784	Christian VII.
1784-1808	Prince Frederic, Regent.
1808-1839	Frederic VI. (Norway taken away, 1814.)
1839-1848	Christian VIII.
1848-1863	Frederic VII.
1863	Christian IX.

TURKEY.

1512-1520	Selim I.
1520-1566	Solyman II., the Magnificent. Ottoman Empire at its height. Wars against Charles V. and his brother Ferdinand. Sieges of Vienna.
1566-1574	Selim II.
1574-1595	Amurath III.
1595-1603	Mahmud III.
1603-1617	Achilles I.
1617-1618	Mustapha I.
1618-1622	Osman II.
1622-1623	Mustapha again.
1623-1640	Amurath IV.
1640-1648	Ibrah.
1648-1687	Mahmud IV.
1687-1691	Soliman III.
1691-1695	Achilles II.
1695-1703	Mustapha II.
1703-1730	Achilles III.
1730-1754	Mahmud I., or Mahomet V.
1754-1757	Osman III.
1757-1774	Mustapha III.
1774-1789	Abdul-Ahmed.
1789-1807	Selim III.
1807-1808	Mustapha IV.
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